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A HISTORY OF EGYPT

VOLUME II

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A

HISTORY OF EGYPT

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO
THE END OF THE XVIIITH DYNASTY

BY

JAMES BAIKIE, D.D., F.R.A.S.

AUTHOR OF "THE STORY OF THE PHARAOHS"
"THE AMARNA AGE," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES

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BOOK III
THE NEW EMPIRE

ANCIENT EGYPT

CHAPTER XX

THE RISE OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

{WITH the conclusive triumph of the Theban royal line, represented by Aahmes I., over the Hyksos, the history of Egypt enters upon a new phase, and assumes an entirely new character.} Even in earlier days, as we have already seen, there was much more communication of nation with nation in the ancient East than used to be imagined, and it was impossible for any nation, even though so secluded by its natural boundaries as was Egypt, to live and die unto itself, even had it been so minded. Egypt had been far from so minded, and with the natural curiosity of a young people, conscious of its own strength and capacity, had been reaching out its hand towards Equatorial Africa on the one side, and towards Syria and all the world of ancient Asia which lay behind Syria on the other. But now the movements of the peoples which had brought about the great disaster of the Hyksos Conquest as one of their by-products had created a new situation in more ways than one. A greater consciousness of their mobility, so to speak, had been created among the peoples, so that they were no longer content to sit still under conditions which might be improved; and, together with this, there had also come a wider knowledge of the advantages and commodities which other lands had to offer, whether to trade or to conquest. The intercourse between the nations of the ancient East in the days of the Old Kingdom of Egypt may have been, for the time, much more widespread and more thoroughly

organised than we used to believe; but the new developments were speedily to render the intercourse of the time of the New Empire far more intense, and to give to national relationships what it would scarcely be an exaggeration to call a cosmopolitan aspect.

The new Egypt which had arisen out of the flames of the War of Independence had been, by her trying experiences, thoroughly attuned to the spirit of the new age, and was eager to take her place on the wider stage which circumstances now offered to her. War, continued for more than a generation, had created in her people that restlessness which a great war never fails to leave behind it; and along with that state of mind, which we have all come to understand only too well in our own time, there went the conviction that in the lands which had sent forth the oppressors of Egypt, and equipped them with the strange weapons which had helped them to success, there must be much that was worth the getting, now that the tide had turned, and the comfortable assurance that the strength of Egypt was such as to enable her to put in her claim for possession with every prospect of its being honoured. Behind all the rest was the spirit of revenge, which made every Egyptian, from Pharaoh downwards, feel that in invading and ravaging the lands of the hated Asiatics he was really waging a holy war, a kind of crusade against the lands that had sent forth the men who had dishonoured the sacred soil of Egypt, and committed sacrilege against her gods. Our old friend Aahmes, son of Abana, uses a phrase in describing the great Syrian invasion of Thothmes I., which exactly expresses the light in which these repeated campaigns of the early Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty were regarded, both by themselves and by their people. "One (*i.e.* Pharaoh) journeyed to Retenu", he says, "to wash his heart among the foreign countries." To wash the heart was to obtain satisfaction for past injuries, such as would cleanse away all the feeling of bitterness and humiliation which the past had left. It was such a desire which sharpened the swords of the Egyptian soldiers, and urged on their chariots, as they pressed up through Palestine and Syria into the Land of the Rivers. They felt that they were

getting their own back, and wiping out forever the stain which had been left upon the escutcheon of their national renown. By and by, of course, that not unnatural and not altogether discreditable feeling would wear off, and the conquests of the later Pharaohs of the line may have been inspired only by lust of dominion and of its concomitant gains in wealth and prestige; but in the beginning the impetus was given by injured pride of race, and the memory of intolerable wrongs endured at Asiatic hands.

Meanwhile, however, after the first rush of the victorious Egyptians had carried them as far as Sharuhén, and through the long siege of that city, King Aahmes found that he had to attend to affairs on his southern frontier. Here the Nubian chieftains, among whom one A'ata was apparently conspicuous, had been taking advantage of Egypt's weakness and her preoccupation with the Hyksos danger, to undo the work of the great Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom. Aahmes was now to show them that Egypt meant to reassert her ancient claims to dominion over Nubia. Aahmes, son of Abana, tells us the story of the double campaign which followed with his usual dry terseness and his usual little bit of personal detail and self-glorification: "Now when His Majesty had slain the Mentiu of Asia, he fared southwards to Khenthennofer to destroy the Nubian Beduin; and His Majesty proceeded to make a great slaughter among them. Then I brought away spoil thence: two living men and three hands. Then I was rewarded with the Gold anew, and behold two female slaves were given unto me. And His Majesty sailed downstream, with glad heart in valour and victory, having taken possession of both Southerners and Northerners."

The Nubian trouble, however, was not yet done with. The conquest of Aahmes might have been made much more difficult, if not impossible, had the Nubians co-ordinated their attacks, and resisted Egypt with a united front. But with the usual lack of unity which has always been the destruction of uncivilised or semi-civilised tribes in dealing with a thoroughly organised enemy, they spent their strength in two separate waves, and the second attack was only made after the first had failed. The consequence

was that both were easily defeated. "Then", says our chronicler, "there came A'ata of the South, whose fate drew him on to doom. For the gods of Upper Egypt laid hold upon him; His Majesty found him in Tentt a'a (possibly near the First Cataract?). And His Majesty brought him a living prisoner, and all his people as an easy spoil. Then I captured two bowmen from the ship of A'ata. (The fight was evidently on the water.) And One gave me five heads, and a parcel of land, three and a half acres in my city; and the like was done to all the navy."

One of the reasons for the undue prolongation of the struggle with the Hyksos must have been the fact that the Egyptian kings were seldom able to bring the whole power of an united Egypt into the field against their adversaries. At the very beginning of the troubles we saw how there was treachery among the priesthood of Min at Koptos. It has been supposed that the fighting south of Avaris, to which Aahmes of El-Kab alludes, and which apparently interrupted the siege for awhile, was rendered necessary by a rebellion of some of the native Egyptian magnates, jealous of the primacy of the Theban line; while Breasted reckons the rising of A'ata to have been an internal rebellion rather than a Nubian uprising. Be that as it may, there was no question of the native character of the last revolt with which King Aahmes was called to deal. It was stirred up and led by an Egyptian of the name of Teta'an (a common name at this period), and it met with no better success than its predecessors had done. Our sailor of El-Kab dismisses the business with scant notice: "Then came that wretch, whose name was Teta'an; he had gathered rebels unto himself. His Majesty slew him, and annihilated his gang. Then were given unto me three heads, and fields amounting to three and a half acres in my city". Pharaoh's sturdy namesake, one sees, missed no opportunity of collecting whatever unconsidered trifles were going, and was now fairly in the way of becoming a landed proprietor in El-Kab, though his estate, even at its best, was never one of the great fiefs.

With the slaying of Teta'an, Aahmes seems to have fairly completed his domination of the discontented ele-

ments in his kingdom. One result of the disaffection shown by some of the native nobility seems to have been the adoption of a policy on the part of the Crown by which the administration of local affairs, and even of the family estates of the great barons, was largely taken out of the hands of the great families, whose power, once the buttress of the state, had now proved to be a danger to it, and was carried on by the central government. The great families, instead of being the local providences of their districts, as under the Middle Kingdom, now became courtiers of the regular type, who resided at Thebes and were buried there, instead of occupying the ancient tombs of their lines. Thus the control of the entire land passed into the hands of the Pharaoh himself, and Egypt, as Breasted has pointed out, "became the personal estate of the Pharaoh". There is scarcely enough evidence, however, to warrant the statement that "there were but few of the local nobles who supported Ahmose and gained his favour"; had this been the case, the Hyksos would never have been driven out at all. The power of the great body of the aristocracy must have been behind the king, though there were exceptions; and the ease with which Aahmes, to all appearance, disposed of these exceptions seems to show that the disaffection was not nearly so widespread as Breasted supposes. The deprivation of the aristocracy of their former local powers is not to be looked on as being generally a punishment for disaffection, but rather as a part of a fixed policy designed to remove forever such a risk as even the partial rebellions had shown to exist. Under this policy, no doubt, the innocent suffered with the guilty, if, indeed, the local magnates reckoned their summons to court, with the consequent abnegation of their administrative functions in their own provinces, as a grievance, and not rather, as is quite possible, a resumption of the old honour, which had been theirs under the Old Kingdom, of being in personal association with and attendance on the Good God of the land.

However this may be, there can be little doubt that the new policy, however much it may have appeared to strengthen the power of the Crown for the time being,

actually tended to the ultimate weakening of the Egyptian state, as undue centralisation always does. The new aristocracy, divorced from the local interests which had formerly given each local magnate a personal pride in his country and his own share of its work, must inevitably have become a much less healthy body than the old; and its tendency to luxury and corruption must have been vastly increased by the constant influx of captured treasure and of foreign slaves and immigrants which was the result of the continual campaigns of the conquering Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty. All this, however, was far below the horizon when Aahmes first initiated the policy, and he must not be blamed for results which it was almost impossible for him to have foreseen. Doubtless his policy served the immediate ends for which he had adopted it, which is perhaps as much as can be expected of anything created by fallible human wisdom.

One more warlike adventure the founder of the dynasty had to undertake, before he was able finally to rest from external strife. This took the shape of another Asiatic campaign, in the course of which he penetrated into Phoenicia—Zahi, as the Egyptians called it. Whether this campaign was undertaken immediately after the capture of Sharuhén, or was a separate undertaking of a later date, is uncertain, and perhaps does not matter much. In either case, the object was no doubt the same—to drive the Hyksos so far back from the Egyptian frontiers that there should be no further danger of trouble from them. Our only, and very meagre, information about this Phoenician venture comes from the autobiography of another Aahmes of El-Kab, a city which evidently bred a fighting strain in these days. The younger Aahmes, whom we may distinguish from his older fellow-citizen by his name Pen-Nekheb, had an even longer career as a soldier than Aahmes, son of Abana, as he served under no fewer than five kings. His first and practically his only service under Aahmes I. was on the Phoenician campaign, of which he thus makes mention: "The Hereditary Prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, chief treasurer, herald of his lord, Aahmes, called Pen-Nekheb, justified; he says: 'I followed

King Nebpehtira (Aahmes I.), justified. I captured for him in Zahi a living prisoner and a hand.' "

So, with the Hyksos enemy humbled and pushed far from the borders of Egypt, the Nubian attempt to regain independence frustrated, and all internal disaffection quelled, King Aahmes was able to turn his attention to the huge task of restoring his country to order, and of bringing it back to some semblance of decency with regard to its great public and religious works, which had suffered at the hands of the Semitic tyrants. It was a task which neither he nor his immediate successors saw completed, for we find it still going on in the reign of Queen Hatshepsut, after Aahmes, Amenhotep I., Thothmes I., and Thothmes II. had passed away; but at all events he made a beginning, though we could wish that he had told us more about the actual work which he accomplished, and less about his glory, in the Karnak stele which is almost the only official record of his doings that has survived. This splendid stele contains thirty-two lines of inscription, of which twenty-six are taken up with the usual conventional adulatory epithets, while the remaining six are devoted to his actual work of reconditioning the temples. "He is a king", so runs the wearisome stream of fulsome rhetoric, "whom Ra has caused to rule and whom Amen has magnified; they give to him territories and lands at one time, even all that upon which Ra shines. The Desert-dwellers draw near to him with one accord in a humble procession, and stand at his gates. The terror of him is among the people of Khenthennofer, and his roaring in the lands of the Fenkhu. The fear of His Majesty is in the midst of this land like Min in the year of his appearing. They bring goodly tribute, and are laden with offerings for the king." Just so; but one would much rather have heard of the work which Aahmes was really doing for his own land.

Here is what he tells of his gifts to the temple of Amen, who now begins to rise, from an unimportant local god into the supreme national divinity, with the rise of the Theban princes to supreme power: "Now His Majesty commanded to make monuments for his father Amen-Ra, as follows: great chaplets of gold, with rosettes of genuine

lapis lazuli; seals of gold; large vases of gold; jars and vases of silver; tables of gold, offering-tables of gold and silver; necklaces of gold and silver, combined with lapis lazuli and malachite; a drinking-vessel for the *Ka* of gold, its standard of silver; a drinking-vessel of silver for the *Ka*, rimmed with gold, its standard of silver; a flat dish of gold; jars of pink granite, filled with ointment; great pails of silver, rimmed with gold, the handles thereon of silver; a harp of ebony, of gold and silver; sphinxes of silver; a (?) with gold; a barge of the Beginning-of-the-River, called 'Userhetamen', of new cedar of the best of the terraces, in order to make his voyages therein. I erected columns of cedar likewise; I gave——" Here we have the beginnings of that process which resulted at last in Amen and his priesthood becoming the supreme power in the land, with greater resources and authority than even Pharaoh possessed, and which proved as disastrous to Egypt as the dominance of a priesthood has always proved to any land which had the misfortune to be subjected to it. Doubtless Aahmes was making similar gifts to the temples of the other great gods, though the record of them has not survived; but we may be sure that Amen, as the god of Pharaoh's native city, got the lion's share, as he always did henceforth, until Egypt had nothing left to give.

In his restorations, Aahmes made use of the slave labour which he had acquired by his victories. We are informed upon this point by the quarry-inscription which Neferperet, one of his officials, has left in the limestone quarry of Ma'sara, south-east of Cairo. The inscription gives the names and titles of Aahmes and his queen, Aahmes Nefertari, the latter being given significant prominence, in accordance with a custom of this period which we shall have to notice directly. After this, the inscription runs as follows: "Year 22, under the Majesty of the King, Son of Ra, Aahmes, who is given life. The quarry chambers were opened anew; good limestone of Ayan was taken out for his temples of myriads of years, the temple of Ptah, the temple of Amen in the Southern Apt (Luxor), and all the monuments which His Majesty made for him. The stone was dragged with oxen which His

Majesty captured in his victories among the Fenkhu. The assistant, the hereditary prince — the vigilant one of the Lord of the Two Lands in restoring the monuments of eternity, greatly pleasing the heart of the Good God; the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief treasurer Neferperet." It is true, as Breasted has pointed out, that the actual inscription only mentions captured oxen, and not slaves; but the carving below it represents the oxen being driven by men who are obviously Asiatics, so that the inference drawn by Maspero and Petrie is justified, as Asiatics would only be employed on such a work in Egypt if they were prisoners of war.

Allusion has been made to the prominence given at this time to the female side of the royal house. This, of course, was at no period an unknown thing in Egypt, where the position of women was all along singularly high, and where the succession in the royal family was determined more often by descent on the female side than on the male, so that a prince who was only the son of a secondary royal wife could legitimise his claim to the throne by marrying a princess of pure solar blood—a course which was followed with success by usurpers who had no royal blood at all. But the position of the royal ladies of the XVIIIth Dynasty at the beginning of the line was remarkable, even in a land like Egypt, and our attention must be turned to it for a moment.

In the palace of King Aahmes, or at all events at his court, there were at least three royal ladies whose position, and the reverence accorded to whom, was such that the adjustment of their respective claims to regard and precedence must have been a sore worry to the court chamberlain. Of these, the youngest was the king's great royal wife, Aahmes Nefertari. She was also his sister, and, being thus doubly royal, she came to be revered in after years even more than her husband, the liberator of his land. As the divine ancestress of the world-famous XVIIIth Dynasty, she was given divine honour, and is sometimes represented with her flesh coloured blue-black, like the gods of the Underworld. Her claims to primacy in the court must therefore have been very strong, perhaps strongest of all.

Of the preceding generation, but endowed with a vitality which enabled her to survive all her own family; and to live on until the reign of Thothmes I., when her age must have been at least 90, and may have been a hundred, was the Queen Aahhotep, mother of both King Aahmes and his queen Nefertari, and doubly royal as having been the wife and widow, first, of King Seqenenra, and then of King Kames. The extraordinary manner in which Egyptian matrimonial relationships defy all our ideas as to consanguinity and the disastrous effects of the marriage of near relatives to one another are fully exhibited during the early XVIIIth Dynasty, when not only is sister-marriage recognised as the most natural and desirable of all forms of marriage, but when there seems to have been no particular objection as to a father marrying his daughter, or a mother her son. The most astonishing thing about this, to our minds, horrifying state of affairs is that while it ought, according to our ideas, to have produced weakness and insanity in the children of such marriages, the actual result was to give to Egypt what was probably the most vigorous and capable of all her long succession of dynasties, with the possible exception of the XIIth. Queen Aahhotep, then, must have occupied at the court of her son and daughter a position second only, if that, to that of Queen Aahmes Nefertari. She was at this time still in the prime of life, and had a long career to look forward to.

Last and eldest of the three great queens was Queen Tetashera, whom we may think of as a little and fragile figure of an old lady, who carried with her about the court the memory of the bitter days of humiliation when the Hyksos tyrants lorded it over the land, and the Theban royal line reigned in Thebes only on sufferance and was liable at any moment to be subjected to whatever insult the Asiatic chose to heap upon his vassals. She had been married, probably when she was a mere child, according to our ideas, to the Theban king Ta'a, and her son and daughter by him were Seqenenra and Aahhotep. Before she was much more than thirty, she was a grandmother, and two of her grandchildren were Aahmes and Aahmes Nefertari, at whose brilliant court she was now spending



STATUETTE OF QUEEN TETASHERA

From Sir Wallis Budge's "Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum"

her declining years. She was not fifty when her son Seqenenra fell in battle, and it was not long before he was followed to the grave by King Kames, whether the latter was Tetashera's son or her grandson. The old lady must have had strange thoughts as she tottered about the court, with the ghosts of a troubled past by her side, and contrasted the glittering scene with the narrow and straitened days which she remembered, when no one knew what shame was to come next, and when her brave sons were beginning to chafe against the tyranny which they had not yet dared to resist openly.

One is glad to think that she saw better days before she closed her weary old eyes on a world where she had lived nearly seventy years of such ups and downs as come to few people. After the triumph over the Hyksos, she was given an estate, and presumably a dower-house, near Memphis, where estates were found also for other members of the royal house; so that her visits to court would probably be only occasional. She was treated with all honour, however, on great occasions, as we know from a tablet in University College, London, on which there is a representation of King Aahmes presiding at the restoration of the shrine of Montu, the War-god. She stands behind her young grandson the king, as representative of the royal family.

One of the few surviving inscriptions of this reign shows us that this reverence continued to be accorded to her long after she had passed away. A great stele of Aahmes, found by Petrie at Abydos, records the gratitude and love of King Aahmes for the stout-hearted old grandmother who had seen the Egyptian kingdom through its worst troubles, and lived to see the dawn of brighter days. The inscription belongs to the latter part of the king's reign, and is quite unusual and touching in the natural and unconventional form, so different from that of most royal Egyptian records, in which it expresses the affection of Aahmes for his grandmother:

"Now it came to pass that His Majesty sat in the audience-hall, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpchtira, Son of Ra, Aahmes, given life; while the hereditary princess, great in favour, great in amiability,

king's daughter, king's sister, divine consort, great king's wife, Aahmes Nefertari, who liveth, was with His Majesty.

"One spake with the other, seeking benefactions for the departed, to present libations of water, to offer upon the altar, to enrich the offering-tablet at the first of every season, at the monthly feast of the first of the month. . . . His sister spake and answered him: 'Wherefore has this been remembered? And why has this word been spoken? What has come into thy heart?'

"The king himself spake to her: 'I, it is, who have remembered the mother of my mother, and the mother of my father, great king's wife and king's mother, Tetashera, justified. Although she already has a tomb and a mortuary chapel on the soil of Thebes and Abydos, I have said this to thee, in that My Majesty has desired to have made for her also a pyramid and a house in Tazeser, as a monumental donation of My Majesty. Its lake shall be dug, its trees shall be planted, its offerings shall be founded, equipped with people, endowed with lands, presented with herds, mortuary priests and ritual priests, having their duties, every man knowing his place.'

"Lo, His Majesty spake this word, while this was in process of construction. His Majesty did this because he so greatly loved her, beyond everything. Never did former kings the like of it for their mothers. Lo, His Majesty extended his arm, and bent his hand, he pronounced for her a mortuary prayer. . . ."

The whole inscription, with its simple expression of natural affection, is one of those unimportant documents which are really far more important than many much more pretentious records. For it reminds us of what we are always in danger of forgetting, that even a Pharaoh of three millenniums ago was once a living human being, with natural feelings like our own. It is a very pretty piece of nature, all the more refreshing because it comes like a spring in the desert, in the midst of vast expanses of barrenness.

Little, old Queen Tetashera, however, must have possessed the art of getting into the hearts of others besides

her own royal grandchildren. We owe the only portrait that we have of her to the affection which she had inspired in the steward of her household, the Overseer Senseneb, who, after her death, placed in her tomb-chapel a charming pair of little statuettes, twenty-three inches high, representing her, not in her wrinkled old age, but as she was, when, as a slim girl, she married her long-dead Theban prince Ta'a. The perfect one of these two is now in the British Museum, where it reminds a briefly skirted generation of the fact that there is nothing new under the sun. The more fashion changes, the more it is the same thing, and there are few differences between the scanty skirt of Queen Tetashera of 1600 B.C. and that of the modern woman, save that the Egyptian lady's is somewhat the longer.

She was one of the crowd of royalties whose mummies had been heaped together in the unfinished tomb of Queen Astemkheb at Der el-Bahri during the frantic scare over the tomb-robberies of the Ramesside period. Then, or perhaps during the clearing out of the tomb and the voyage of the mummies to Cairo in 1881, the inscribed bandages got separated from her mummy, and now no one knows for certain which of the unnamed mummies lying at Cairo is actually that of this interesting old lady, though there are reasons for believing that she is represented by a little old white-haired woman, whose scanty locks have been eked out by false plaits of hair. But that is of small importance, either to us or to her. The funerary buildings which her grandson planned for her in his filial love are possibly, but not certainly, those discovered by Currelly a few miles south of Abydos. They had been plundered in ancient times, and nothing was left in the tomb but a few scraps of gold leaf.

Queen Aahhotep, who, as we have seen, lived to extreme old age, was buried near to the pyramid of King Kames, at Thebes. During the great investigation of the royal tombs in the XXth Dynasty, the tomb of Kames was examined, and found to be intact, so that presumably Queen Aahhotep had also escaped the attentions of the tomb-robbers up to that date; but her body was removed from the tomb during the scare, and apparently re-buried

in the sand in the northern part of the Theban necropolis. There it was found in 1859 by Mariette's workmen, but was laid hands on by the Mudir of Keneh, who opened the coffin, and hurried off to offer to the Khedive the fine set of funerary jewellery which it contained. Mariette, however, had other views as to the destination of the find, and, hurrying off by steamer, he met and boarded the Mudir's boat, and, partly by violence and partly by cajolery, induced him to part with his treasure, which was finally housed in the museum which Mariette was creating at Cairo. There, or rather in the successor of Mariette's own museum, it rests at this day. Queen Aahhotep, no doubt, witnessed many scenes of violence in her long day, for she was born during Hyksos rule, and died "with all the wealth of Asia around her"; but perhaps the most curious of them all was the act of justifiable piracy to which she was subjected by Mariette, 3400 years after her death. Her funerary equipment, which was the finest known until it was eclipsed by the find of XIIth Dynasty jewellery at Dahshur, comprised objects which had been contributed by two kings. A beautiful chain with a scarab pendant bore the name of King Aahmes, as did also three bracelets and a diadem, a gold axe and a dagger. The name of King Kames was inscribed upon a fine gold boat with rowers—a companion boat of silver being left uninscribed. In addition, a fly-flap and some bronze axes also bore the name of Kames. It is not certain, however, that the Kames objects actually formed part of the original funerary treasure, as no object bearing his name was within the queen's bandages. What became of the mummy of the great queen does not seem to be known; Mariette was more interested in securing the jewellery for his darling project than in the mummy even of one of the most famous of Egyptian queens.

As for the third queen who adorned the court of Aahmes, Queen Aahmes Nefertari appears to have outlived her husband. Spite of the reverence which surrounded her name for many centuries, her tomb is not known. She formed, however, one of the most conspicuous members of the great company of Egyptian royalties which was found in 1881 in the cache at Der el-Bahri. Her

gigantic coffin, ten feet four inches in length, was made of layers of linen glued together and coated with stucco. The cartonnage is moulded into the form of the queen, who bears a crown with tall plumes, and has her arms crossed over her breast, and holds an *ankh* in either hand. Within this huge coffin were two mummies, of which one turned out to be that of Ramses III., while the other was probably that of the great queen. But the vicissitudes which have attended the bodies of the other queens of the court of King Aahmes were not lacking in the case of his own wife. The mummy which may have been that of Aahmes Nefertari was left to neglect and damp for four years, after which, not unnaturally, it was found to be decomposing, and was "provisionally interred", as the discreet phrase of the official report put it. Still later, it was officially stated that the body of the queen was never lost, and was in the Museum; but in actual fact nobody seems really to know what has become of "the most venerated figure of Egyptian history".

The king to whom Egypt owed her final liberation from the Hyksos, and the establishment of the most world-famous, if not the greatest, of her dynasties, and who therefore deserves to rank as one of the greatest kings of Egyptian history, died, apparently, in the prime of his life, at an age of probably between forty and fifty. His mummy, which was one of those found at Der el-Bahri, was that of a strong and broad-shouldered man of about five feet six inches in height, his hair, of a dark-brown colour, thick and curly, his front teeth somewhat prominent—a family trait. Round his neck he wore a wreath of *delphinium orientale*. In addition to his "Great Royal Wife", he had married several secondary wives, of whom the most prominent was the Princess Inhapi, whose daughter, the Princess Aahmes Hent-Temehu, was the mother, by Thothmes I., of the famous Queen Hatshepsut. Another was the lady Sen-senb, who became the mother of Thothmes I.; so that King Aahmes was not only the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but had a direct and considerable share in providing it with some of its most famous members.

He was succeeded by Amenhotep I., who was his son by Queen Aahmes Nefertari. The new king was not the eldest son; but his elder brother, Aahmes Sipair, had apparently died at a comparatively early age. He married his sister, the Princess Aahhotep, and was also, in all probability, married to more than one other of his sisters or half-sisters. His personal name, which means "Amen is content", shows clearly the rising influence of the Theban god. It is a name which was destined to be associated, through its various holders, with some of the greatest glories, and also with some of the greatest disasters, of Egyptian history. His name as Reed-and-Hornet king was Zeserkara, "Splendour of the Spirit of Ra".

The chief external events of his reign, so far as we know them from contemporary records, were a campaign against the Nubians, whose lesson from King Aahmes had evidently not been sharp enough, and a campaign against the Libyans, who appear to have taken advantage of his absence in Nubia to attack Egypt, but were handled with promptitude and success by the new king. For the Nubian campaign, our chief informant is still our old sailor from El-Kab, who is as cheerfully convinced as ever of his own transcendent merits. "I piloted King Zeserkara", he says, "when he went upstream to Kush in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt. His Majesty captured that Nubian Cave-dweller in the midst of his army — who were brought back as prisoners, none of them missing. Meanwhile I was at the head of our army; I fought incredibly (literally 'more than what is true'); His Majesty beheld my bravery. I brought off two hands, and took them to His Majesty. One pursued his people and his cattle. Then I brought off a living prisoner, and took him to His Majesty."

— At this stage, apparently, news of the Libyan raid reached the king as he was warring somewhere near the Second Cataract, and he had to hasten northwards to meet in person this new danger. Aahmes, son of Abana, had the task of driving the king's galley northwards, and performed it efficiently, if his own testimony be not, like his account of his fighting, "more than what is true". "I

brought His Majesty", he says, "in two days to Egypt from the Upper Well; One presented me with the Gold". If the Upper Well be the Second Cataract, as is likely from the fact that the king left a rock-inscription there on the island of Uronarti, then the old sailor earned his reward, for two hundred miles in two days was not bad going for a Nile boat. Aahmes adds a couple of details, which may belong either to the Nubian campaign, or to the repulse of the Libyans: "Then I brought away two female slaves, in addition to those prisoners whom I had taken to His Majesty. One appointed me 'Warrior of the Ruler'." Aahmes had still another step to win in his promotion, as we shall see in the next reign; this one under Amenhotep seems to have been an honorary commission in the King's Guards.

His fellow-townsmen and friendly rival as an aspirant to fame, Aahmes Pen-Nekheb, of whom we have already heard in Phoenicia, gives us the driest and most business-like summary of his feats of arms, for which we have to be as grateful as we may, in view of the fact that but for it we should not know of the Libyan business at all, unless we could have guessed at it from the hurried northward voyage. "I followed King Zeserkara, justified; I captured for him in Kush a living prisoner. Again I served for King Zeserkara, justified; I captured for him, on the north of Imukehek (this is the Libyan campaign) three hands." It must be acknowledged that the Egyptian soldier of the time shone more in the field than at the writing-table. We have to take what he chose to give us, and try to be thankful that it is not even less than it is.

These two brief campaigns, if one can dignify them by such a name, seem to have been the extent of the warlike activities of Amenhotep I. We are not much better equipped with materials for the narrative of his activities within Egypt than we were for that of his wars. Actually, our only source, so far as the public works of the king are concerned, is the tomb-autobiography of his architect Ineni or Anena. Ineni is indeed one of the most diverting of Egyptian chroniclers, so far as he goes. He has the usual Egyptian good opinion of himself, and expresses it with a

most engaging confidence in his own virtues; but, unfortunately for our present purpose, the greater part of his service, and therefore his comments upon his own excellencies, lies in the later reigns of the four kings under whom he served. The worthy architect was "Pasha, Count, Chief of all the Works in Karnak, Controller of the Double-Houses of Silver and of Gold, Sealer of Contracts in the House of Amen, and Excellency-in-Charge of the Double-Granary"—a gentleman, obviously much regarded, and one who was in a position to make things comfortable for himself and anyone whom he favoured, especially in the building business. King Amenhotep had planned to build a pylon on the south side of the great temple of Amen at Karnak, and his plan was duly executed, as we see from the dedication inscriptions which were found there below a later pavement. They run thus: "Amenhotep I.; He made it as his monument for his father Amen, Lord of Thebes, erecting for him a great gate of twenty cubits at the double façade of the temple, of fine limestone of Ayan, which the Son of Ra, Amenhotep, living forever, made for him". ". . . building his house, establishing his temple, erecting the southern gate, made high, even twenty cubits of fine white limestone."

Ineni was naturally appointed to superintend this important work, and the first surviving part of his biography tells us of his share in it. After a mutilated beginning his story runs: "—— Hatnub, its doors were erected of copper made in one sheet; the fittings thereof were of electrum (Gold-silver alloy). I inspected that which His Majesty made—— bronze, Asiatic copper, collars, vessels, necklaces. I was foreman of every work, all offices were under my command—— at the feasts of the beginning of the seasons; likewise for his Father, Amen, lord of Thebes; they were under my control. Inspection was made for me, I was the reckoner——"

Ineni has only one more item of information to offer us—we shall see it in its season. Meanwhile another inscription tells us that the campaign against Nubia had produced the desired effect, and that the tribute of the province was coming in with satisfactory regularity.

Harmini, who is responsible for this document, is a black swan among Egyptian officials, in that, although a sufficiently important man to be Mayor of Hierakonpolis, and in charge of the tribute from Wawat or Nubia, he is content with the simple title of "Scribe", and rejoices in none of the pompous handles which other officials delighted to accumulate after their names. This Cato among officials tells us: "I passed many years as Mayor of Hierakonpolis. I brought in its tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands; I was praised and no occasion was found against me. I attained old age in Wawat, being a favourite of my lord. I went north with its tribute for the king, each year; I came forth thence justified; there was never found a balance against me."

One glimpse of the old queen Aahhotep I. is given us by the funerary stele of an official called Keres, who occupied the position of herald to the great lady, who had evidently a complete establishment of state kept up about her. She was still active enough in the tenth year of her grandson to issue commands for the erection of a tomb for her faithful servant, according to the curious fashion in which the royalties of Egypt rewarded the services of their dependents. "The king's mother", so her order ran, "has commanded to have made for thee a tomb at the stairway of the great god, Lord of Abydos, confirming thy every office and every favour. There shall be made for thee thy statues, abiding in the temple. . . . There shall be made for thee mortuary offerings, as the king's wife does for the one whom she has loved, for the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, the steward, the herald, Keres, only favourite, united with the limbs of Sekhmet, following the Queen at her going." The stele gives a rather pleasing picture of the kindly relationships between the stately old queen and her servant, whose eternal blessedness was thus firmly secured, so far as human power could secure it, by this gift of a tomb at the most sacred spot in Egypt.

But the most interesting part of the inscription is the description which Keres gives of his own duties in the queen's service. He is "the real confidant of his queen, to whom secret things are told, experienced in the plans of

his queen, transmitting affairs to the palace, finding solutions, making agreeable unpleasant matters, one upon whose word his queen depends, approaching the truth, knowing the affairs of the mind, profitable in speech to his queen, great in respect in the house of the king's mother, weighty in affairs, excellent in speech, secretive in mind, administering the palace, sealing his mouth concerning that which he hears, official who solves knotty problems"! If one half of all this was true of Keres, he was indeed well worthy of the very best tomb that his queen could provide for him in Abydos. What would a potentate of to-day not be willing to pay for the services of a man who could find solutions and make agreeable unpleasant matters, and who added to the capacity of solving knotty problems the still more desirable quality of sealing his mouth concerning that which he hears? But perhaps such officials were the unique specialty of Egypt three thousand four hundred years ago, and are no longer bred.

Old Queen Aahhotep, thus excellently cared for by her herald and other servants, was still showing the new world how things ought to be done when Amenhotep I. finished his reign of somewhat over twenty years, and was gathered to his fathers. His architect Ineni commemorates the event in the last words of his inscription referring to this reign: "His Majesty having spent life in happiness and the years in peace, went forth to heaven; he joined the Sun, and went forth with him".

Amenhotep's funerary temple was found in 1896, on the edge of the western desert by Drah abu'l Negga; but certainty has not yet been reached as to his tomb, though Dr. Howard Carter has shown strong reasons for believing it to be the tomb discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon and himself in 1914, about eight hundred metres from the king's temple. Mr. Weigall believes it rather to be the tomb now numbered 39 at the south end of the Valley of the Kings; but certainty on the matter seems at present to be unattainable on the existing evidence. In any case, though Amenhotep's successor, Thothmes I., is generally regarded as having been the first to inaugurate the new custom of burial in the Valley of the Kings, it must be con-

ceded that Amenhotep was before him in conceiving the idea of separating the funerary temple from the tomb, and thus being in a position to obtain greater secrecy and security for the latter.

The tomb-commission which inspected the royal tombs in the reign of Ramses IX. refers as follows to that of Amenhotep: "The eternal horizon of King Zeserkara (Life! Health! Strength!) which is 120 cubits deep from its superstructure, which is called 'The High Ascent', north of the house of 'Amenhotep-of-the-Garden', on which the mayor of the town Paser made his report to the nomarch Khaemuas, to the royal officer Nesuamen . . . saying 'The robbers have robbed it': examined this day, it was found intact by the masons". Its immunity, however, evidently did not continue for long, for the mummy had to be re-interred in the reign of Pasebkhanu I., about sixty-five years later, and it was again re-interred about thirty years later still, in the reign of Pinezem I.; while we find that a century after this second re-interment the king's coffin was lying, in the reign of Si-Amen, in the tomb of Queen Inhapi, "which is in The-Great-Place". How long it lay there is unknown; but poor Amenhotep had to suffer another removal before he reached at last what we may hope to be his final resting-place in the Cairo Museum. He was one of the Pharaohs stacked in the great cache of Der el-Bahri; and when he arrived at Cairo, his wrappings and wreaths were found to be in such beautiful condition that Sir Gaston Maspero decided not to unwrap him, but to leave him undisturbed, as the last embalmers had left him in the days of Pinezem. The dead king was covered from head to foot with wreaths of flowers, yellow, red, and blue, and it was the scent of these which had attracted the unfortunate wasp which had been too busily occupied for its own safety, and had shared the Pharaoh's long sleep of three thousand years. "Une guêpe, attirée par l'odeur, était entrée dans le cercueil; enfermée par hasard, elle s'y est conservée intacte, et nous a fourni un exemple probablement unique d'une momie de guêpe."

CHAPTER XXI

THOTHMES I. AND THE GREAT ASIATIC ADVENTURE

AMENHOTEP I. had been possessed of an undoubted title to the crown, as being of unquestioned blood-royal by both his father and his mother. Thothmes I., who succeeded him, had by no means so clear a title. He has sometimes been held to have been the son of Amenhotep; but it seems more likely that he was half-brother to the late king. In any case he was not the son of a Great Royal Wife, as Amenhotep had been, but of a secondary wife, the lady Sensenb, whose portrait appears at Der el-Bahri. In order to legitimise his succession, he married a princess of pure solar blood, whose name was Aahmes, and who is, in all probability, to be identified with the princess Aahmes, Hent-Temehu, daughter of King Aahmes, of whom we have already heard. This device, which was not unusual, succeeded in securing for Thothmes an undisputed succession in the meantime; but, as we shall see later, there seems to have been an undercurrent of disaffection over his accession, which finally found expression towards the end of the reign. Judging from his mummy, which was one of the Der el-Bahri find, he must have been a man of full middle age when he came to the throne.

His coronation took place probably about 1540 B.C., and our information with regard to it is due to the fact that a new office had lately been established with the object of regulating the affairs of what was now to be regarded as the Nubian Province. In the time of Amenhotep I., the Mayor of Hierakonpolis apparently administered the district, or at all events collected its revenues; but now this makeshift arrangement was superseded by the appointment of a new

official, who held the title of "King's Son of the South Countries", or "of Kush", and who was actually viceroy of the Sudan. It must not be supposed that this title meant that the office had always to be held by a prince of the blood-royal, though this was sometimes the case; the first viceroy, Thure, was merely a promising official, and many of his successors had no connection with the royal house. To this newly-appointed viceroy the new king communicated the fact of his accession, and Thure caused the royal rescript to be inscribed upon steles of sandstone, and set up in his province at Wady Halfa and Kubban. It runs as follows:

"Royal command to the King's Son, the Governor of the South Countries, Thure. Behold, there is brought to thee this command of the king in order to inform thee that My Majesty has appeared as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the Horus-throne of the living, without his like forever.

"Make my titulary as follows: Horus: 'Mighty Bull, beloved of Maat'. Favourite of the Two Goddesses: 'Shining in the Serpent-Diadem, Great in Strength'. Golden Horus: 'Goodly in Years, Making hearts Live'. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: 'Aakheperkara'. Son of Ra: 'Thothmes, Living forever and ever'.

"Cause thou oblations to be offered to the gods of Elephantine of the South, as follows: 'Performance of the pleasing ceremonies on behalf of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara, who is given life'.

"Cause thou that the oath be taken in the name of My Majesty, born of the King's Mother, Sensenb, who is in health.

"This is a communication to inform thee of it, and of the fact that the royal house is well and prosperous.

"Year 1, third month of the second season, twenty-first day; the day of the feast of coronation."

Thure who has thus preserved for us this important example of the form of an Egyptian Pharaoh's announcement of his accession, and who was immediately to have his hands very full with the work of his new office, has left us an account of his promotion to his exalted position.

After recounting his service as overseer under Aahmes I., and as superintendent of the granary of Amen, under Amenhotep I., he goes on: "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara; he appointed me to be King's Son of Kush — of gold; an armlet the second time — gave me of gold: a vase, two bracelets — he gave me more than the magnates of the palace". His much mutilated inscription further tells us of service under Thothmes II. and Thothmes III., so that he lived to a good old age.

Meanwhile he was destined to earn his salary; for King Thothmes speedily resolved to complete the subjugation of the southern province which his predecessor had begun. Early in his second year, he advanced with his fleet and army to the First Cataract, where he had some difficulty in passing his ships up the rapids, the formerly existing canal, the work of Senusert III., having become blocked with silt and stones during the troubled times of the Hyksos occupation. He pressed on, however, and, aided by the skill of the veteran Aahmes, son of Abana, succeeded in getting his fleet above the cataract. For his services, Aahmes was promoted to the rank of Chief of the Sailors, or Admiral. Reaching Tangur, about 75 miles above the Second Cataract, he encountered the forces of the Nubian chiefs, and was personally victorious in hand-to-hand conflict with the leader of the Nubian army. He then advanced still further south, to the head of the Third Cataract, where, on the island of Tombos, he built a fortress, and garrisoned it with a detachment from his army. Returning northwards, he afforded an example of the brutalising effect of warfare upon even a comparatively mild and gentle race like the Egyptians, by swinging from the prow of his galley the dead body of the Nubian chief whom he had slain—an example which was to be outdone by one of his successors, who hung a living captive, instead of a dead man, from his ship as he returned from a victorious campaign. At the First Cataract he stopped for a little, and ordered Thure to see to the clearing out of the old canal of Senusert, so that his ships might pass down at leisure.

Thure speedily accomplished his task, and has left us

at the island of Sehel the following description of his performance: "Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara, who is given life. His Majesty commanded to dig this canal, after he found it blocked with stones, so that no ship sailed upon it. He sailed downstream upon it, his heart glad, having slain his enemies. The King's Son, Thure." Another inscription of the viceroy at Sehel adds nothing to the first.

"His Majesty sailed this canal in victory and in power, at his return from overthrowing wretched Kush." Finally an inscription at Aswan informs us of the king's arrival there at the conclusion of his campaign: "His Majesty arrived from Kush, having overthrown the enemy". No doubt, Thure, who must have been kept busy erecting steles, to say nothing of his other official worries with a king and an army to dry-nurse through his province, saw the last of the northward-sailing fleet with a sigh of relief.

Aahmes, son of Abana, shines his small lamp upon us for all but the last time in his account of his own performances and those of his king, during this Nubian war. "I piloted the King Aakheperkara, justified," he says, "when he ascended the river to Khenthennofer, in order to cast out violence in the desert uplands, in order to suppress the raiding of the hill-region. I showed bravery in his presence in the bad water, in the passage of the ship by The Bend. One appointed me Chief-of-the-Sailors." The old sailor then plunges us into the midst of the single combat between the Pharaoh and the Nubian chief, without any preface whatsoever: "His Majesty was furious thereat, like a panther; His Majesty cast his lance first, and it remained in the body of that fallen one —— powerless before his flaming uraeus, in an instant of destruction; their people were brought off as living prisoners. His Majesty sailed downstream, with all lands in his grasp, that wretched Nubian Cave-dweller being hanged head downward at the prow of the barge of His Majesty and landed at Karnak".

His namesake and fellow-townsmen, Aahmes Pen-

Nekheb, also distinguished himself in this easy campaign. Pen-Nekheb had no idea whatever of journalism and of his duties to posterity, and his appallingly dry and matter-of-fact narrative of his doings has at this point the only concession to feeling which he allows himself to make all through his story, in the easy off-hand manner with which he dismisses the number of his captives as not worth mentioning, though one would swear that he was bursting with pride over the business all the time. Indeed he was so pleased with this manifestation of indifference that we shall find him repeating the same statement almost word for word in his story of his feats in Syria in the next reign. "I followed the King Aakheperkara, justified", he says, "I captured for him in Kush two living prisoners, besides three living prisoners, whom I brought off in Kush; I did not count them".

The most elaborate description of the Nubian campaign, however, was that drawn up, doubtless by the busy Thure, for the benefit of the southern province, and inscribed on a rock on the island of Tombos. Unfortunately, the bulk of the inscription is mere verbiage, in which Thure dredges the dictionary to find epithets fulsome enough to describe the glories of Thothmes. The business part of the narrative, so far as it has such a thing, runs thus: "He hath overthrown the chief of the Nubians; the Negro is in his grasp. He hath joined up his frontier on both sides (of the river?); there is not a man remaining among the Woolly-Haired who dares to attack him; there is not a single survivor among them. The Nubians fall by the sword, and are scattered over their lands, the rotting of their bodies floods their valleys, and at the mouths of them it was like a mighty flood. The fragments of their carcasses are too much for the vultures to devour or to carry away." It is, no doubt, very eloquent; but one has a doubt whether things were actually quite so bad as all that.

Then follows a description of the building of the frontier fortress at Tombos, and the inscription closes with an inspired burst of eloquence describing the triumphs of King Thothmes, in language which would have been extravagant applied to the feats of Alexander or Napoleon:

“The lords of the palace have made a fortress for his army, called ‘None-Faces-Him-Among-The-Nine-Bows-Together’; like a young panther among the fleeing cattle the fame of His Majesty blinded them. He brought the ends of the earth into his domain; he trod its two extremities with his mighty sword, seeking battle; he found no one who faced him. He penetrated valleys which the royal ancestors knew not, which the wearers of the Double Diadem had not seen. His southern boundary is as far as the frontier of this land; his northern as far as that inverted water which goes downstream in going upstream. The like has not happened to other kings; his name has reached as far as the circuit of heaven, it has penetrated the Two Lands as far as the nether world; oaths are taken by his name in all lands, because of the greatness of the fame of His Majesty.”

All this over a paltry raid against a handful of half-armed Nubian tribes! The interesting point about the torrent of shameless flattery, however, is its curious description of the Euphrates. The man who wrote the description had evidently travelled in Asia, and had noticed with amazement, and perhaps with contempt, the extraordinary behaviour of the great river, which conducted itself in a fashion that any well brought-up river, such as the Nile, would have despised, and ran southwards towards its mouth, instead of running northwards, like the Nile. “That inverted water which goes downstream in going upstream” sounds as if it ought to have come out of *Through the Looking-Glass*; but it describes with admirable accuracy how the Euphrates must have appeared to an orderly-minded Egyptian, to whom his own northward-flowing Nile was the norm for all rivers. As yet, Thothmes had no right to make the assertion that his northern boundary was as far as the Euphrates, for there had been no attempt on the part of Egypt to bring Syria, let alone any part of Mesopotamia, under her rule since the raid of Aahmes, many years before; and the Syrian princelets would doubtless have been very much surprised if they had been told that Pharaoh considered them to be his subjects. But he was now to embark upon an adventure which was to con-

vert what had been only an empty boast into an actual fact, and was to commit Egypt to a struggle for dominion which was destined to change the face of the ancient world.

The invasion of Syria, to which Thothmes now devoted his warlike energies, whetted by his easy success in Nubia, still appeared to the king, and probably to his subjects, a continuation of the holy war which had resulted in the expulsion of the Hyksos. There is no reason to imagine any intrigue on the part of the Syrian dynasts against the Egyptian suzerainty as being the cause of the new departure, for there is no evidence whatsoever of Egypt having exercised any suzerainty in Syria up to this time. The Syrian campaign to which Aahmes Pen-Nekheb alludes in the reign of Aahmes, was obviously merely a raid, designed to ensure that the fleeing Hyksos should not find a resting-place within striking distance of the Egyptian frontier.

What Thothmes had in mind in planning his campaign was to take vengeance upon Syria for all the long-continued years of humiliation and oppression which Egypt had endured at Semitic hands. This is seen plainly from the terms in which Aahmes, son of Abana, describes the object of the invasion. "After these things", he says, "One journeyed to Retenu to wash his heart among the foreign countries". "His Majesty arrived at Naharin", the old warrior (he was now about 65) goes on; "His Majesty found that foe as he was planning destruction; His Majesty made a great slaughter among them. Numberless were the living prisoners which His Majesty brought off from his victories. Meanwhile I was at the head of our troops, and His Majesty beheld my valour. I brought off a chariot, its horses, and him who was upon it as a living prisoner, and took them to His Majesty. One presented me with the Gold in double measure. For though I had grown old, and had attained old age, my honours were as they used to be at the beginning."

So ends the story of the old sailor of El-Kab. One picture him sitting at the door of his house, in the midst of his sixty-seven acre estate, and ticking off on his tarry

fingers the number of hands he had cut off, and the number of living prisoners he had brought in; while the scribe who was preparing the inscription for the old man's "tomb which I myself made" jots down the facts, so that there shall be no mistake. His little candle seems no more than a farthing rushlight, scarcely more than enough to make darkness visible; but he shines like the midday sun compared with his saturnine and sombre fellow-townsmen Pen-Nekheb. All that this grim veteran has to tell us of the great war which started Egypt on her career of world-conquest is this: "Again I served for King Aakheperkara, justified; I captured for him in the country of Naharin 21 hands, one horse and one chariot". As compared with his senior, the younger Aahmes evidently had a preference for corpses rather than for living prisoners, and believed that "stone-dead hath no fellow". Twenty-one hands seems a large bag, even for a man so greedy of slaughter as he.

Save the diaries of the two old warriors, we have absolutely no record of the happenings of this campaign, which, if we have regard to all that eventually came out of it, must rank as one of the great military adventures of the ancient world. We know, but not from any contemporary source, that Thothmes reached the bank of the Euphrates at its great bend near Carchemish, and that he set up there his tablet of victory; for Thothmes III. found his father's tablet there when he reached the same point on his eighth campaign, and set up another beside it, after he had crossed the Euphrates and set up a stele on the eastern side of the river, just to show that he had been a little farther than his father. For the rest—the resistance which the Pharaoh encountered, the strength of his army, the losses which he sustained, and the manner in which he endeavoured to secure his conquests—we are left entirely in the dark. Indeed the warlike deeds of Thothmes I. have received comparatively little attention, being eclipsed by the constant campaigning of Thothmes III. Yet if a campaign is to be estimated by the importance of the issues which it raises and the magnitude of the forces which it sets in motion, few of those recorded in ancient history deserve more

attention than this adventure of Thothmes I. in Asia. Considered as an item in the history of the ancient East, it initiated the secular struggle for dominion between Asia and Africa, between the culture of the Nile Valley and that of the Euphrates, which proved so disastrous for both civilisations, and ended, at last, in both going down, first before the Persians, and next before Alexander the Great. Considered as a part of the history of Egypt itself, it marks the point at which the Egyptian race definitely turned aside, for a while, from its natural path and function in the world—that of leading the nations in the arts and crafts of peace—and assumed a role for which it had never been cast—that of a claimant to world dominion. The change resulted in a brief blaze of glory and an artificial and entirely unhealthy increase of wealth and luxury for the nation; but it was fundamentally a misfortune, and when the flame of warlike enthusiasm had burnt itself out, as it speedily did, and the Egyptian reverted to his old idea of war as rather a foolish business, and to his natural work as the finest craftsman on earth, he found that he could not so easily disburden himself of the consequences of his own action, and that, having once gripped the wolf by the ears, he was obliged to maintain his grasp, with constantly diminishing strength, on penalty of being devoured if he once let go. Had Thothmes I. foreseen the final consequences of his brilliant feat of arms, he might have shrunk from the great adventure; but in that case he would have been something more than human.

What form of control he now established over the great region which he had thus brought under the shadow of the Egyptian sword is as little known to us as are the details of his campaigning; but it is evident that some attempt was made to maintain the conquests which had been made, and that the campaign was not merely a vengeful raid, but a serious attempt to establish Egyptian sovereignty over that stretch of country between the Isthmus of Suez and the great bend of the Euphrates, which may be regarded as the bridge between Asia and Africa. That this is so, and that Egypt continued to exercise control over Syria and to interfere in its affairs, is evident from the brief reference at

Der el-Bahri to an otherwise unrecorded campaign of Thothmes II., and from the fact that even during the unwarlike reign of Queen Hatshepsut there does not appear to have been any overt attempt on the part of the Syrian dynasts to shake off the Egyptian yoke, whatever its weight may have been. It was only at the accession of Thothmes III. to independent rule that the Syrian chiefs considered that the transference of the sceptre gave them a favourable opportunity for rebellion; and even then, southern Palestine did not take part in the rising against Egyptian authority, but left the risk to the more distant parts of the province, which were not within so easy reach of the mailed fist of Egypt. "Behold", says Thothmes III. in his Annals, "from Yeraza (N.-W. Judea) to the marshes of the earth (*i.e.* to beyond the Euphrates), they had begun to revolt against His Majesty".

With nearer Asia thus under his feet, Thothmes I. might feel that the stain of the Hyksos tyranny had now been finally wiped out, and that he might justly say, as he does on the Abydos stele: "I made the boundaries of Egypt as wide as the circuit of the sun. I made strong those who were in fear; I drove back the evil from them. I made Egypt the superior of every land." We are not to blame him for not realising what no man of his day was in a position to realise, that the loot which he brought back in triumph to Thebes was a gift of the Greeks, destined to prove fatal, in the end, to the land which rejoiced in its acquisition.

From his warlike toils, Thothmes now turned to the task of adorning the land which he had raised to such a pinnacle of glory with great works of the kind in which his subjects always delighted. His own jubilee was now approaching, and he resolved to celebrate it in a manner which afterwards became the regular fashion, by the erection of two great obelisks in the temple of Amen at Karnak, before the pylon which he had been building (the present Pylon IV.). He had already reared, behind this pylon, a great hypostyle hall, in which the facilities offered by his new Syrian conquests caused him to depart from ordinary Egyptian building practice. He had now com-

mand of unlimited supplies of cedar from Lebanon, and he made the columns of his hall of cedar, instead of stone. For all this work he found a ready and capable instrument in the architect Ineni, whom we have already seen working for Amenhotep I. Ineni's narrative is so circumstantial, and we are going to owe him so much before long for the vivacity which he imports into what might have been a dull enough record, that it will be as well to let him tell his own story of the work which he did for Thothmes I.

He begins his record of work in this reign by a brief laudation of his king: "The Good God, who smites the Nubians, Lord of Might, who overthrows the Asiatics. He made his boundary as far as the Horns of the Earth, and the marshes in Kebeh. The Sand-dwellers brought in their tribute as regularly as the taxes of the South and the North; His Majesty sent them on to Thebes, for his father Amen each year. Everything was made to prosper for me under him. He filled his heart with me; I was brought to be a dignitary, overseer of the granary; the fields of divine offerings were under my authority; all the excellent works together were under my administration."

Having done brief justice to the merits both of his king and himself, the worthy architect turns to give us his account of the work at Karnak: "I inspected the great monuments which he made (here a lacuna which must have described the cedar hall), great pylons on either side of it of fine limestone of Ayan; noble flagstaves were erected at the double front of the temple, of new cedar of the best of the terraces; their tips were of electrum. . . . I inspected the erection of the great doorway named 'Amen-Mighty-in-Wealth', its vast door was of Asiatic bronze, whereon was the Divine Shadow, inlaid with gold. I inspected the erection of two obelisks, and built the august boat of 120 cubits in length and 40 cubits in breadth, in order to transport these obelisks. They came in peace, safety and prosperity, and landed at Karnak——Their track was laid with every pleasant wood."

Of the two obelisks thus erected, one is still standing, the northern one of the pair, which Pococke saw still standing in his time, having since fallen. The dimensions

of the southern shaft are: height 64 feet, base 7 feet square, weight 143 tons. Its middle columns contain, on the north and south sides, nothing but the titulary of the king; those on the east and west sides bear his dedication of the obelisk. The dedications may be quoted as an example of such inscriptions. East side: "Horus; Mighty Bull, beloved of Maat; King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Favourite of the Two Goddesses; Shining with the Serpent Diadem, great in strength; Aakheperkara Setepenra; Golden Horus; Beautiful in Years, who makes hearts to live; Bodily Son of Ra, Thothmes I., Shining in Beauty. He made it as his monument to his father Amen, Lord of Thebes, Presider over Karnak, that he may be given life like Ra, eternally."

The eastern inscription certainly contains a great deal about Thothmes and a very little about Amen; that on the west side is a little better in this respect, but not very much: "Horus; Mighty Bull, beloved of Maat; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara, Setep-Amen. He made it as his monument to his father Amen-Ra, Chief of Egypt, erecting for him two great obelisks at the double front of the temple. The pyramidions are of (electrum). . . ." The beautiful shaft has been disfigured by inscriptions of Ramses IV. and Ramses VI. of the XXth Dynasty, who have crowded their additions into two side columns, which greatly mar the beauty of the obelisk.

The northern obelisk was not finished before Thothmes either died or was deposed, and it lay uninscribed, possibly for some twenty-three years. It was then erected and inscribed by Thothmes III., who placed his own name upon it. This long interval has distressed some historians, who have laid stress upon the extreme improbability of so valuable a work of art having lain for so long without being usurped, either by Thothmes II. or Hatshepsut, and have found in the improbability an argument for the complicated set of evolutions on and off the throne which they imagine to have been performed by the relatives of Thothmes I. and the old king himself. Such an argument, however, overlooks the fact that the obelisk of Thothmes III., which is now before the Church of St. John Lateran, in Rome, lay for a still longer period unerected, until

Thothmes IV. set up the memorial of his grandfather; as he expressly tells us, after it had lain on its side 35 years!

Karnak was not the only temple to profit by the generosity of Thothmes. Indeed there must have been an infinity of work requiring to be done, in order to repair the damage which had been done during the Hyksos occupation. Work of his survives at Ombos, Medinet Habu, Ibrim, Semneh, and Kummeh. But his chief task, apart from the great works at Karnak, seems to have been the beautifying of the temple of Osiris at Abydos. He has left us there a stele, now in Cairo, describing the works which his piety led him to carry out for "his father Osiris". The relevant parts of the inscription, after the adulation offered to the king by the priests on account of his expression of his intention, are as follows: "His Majesty commanded the chief treasurer: 'Conduct the work, causing to come — every prepared one of his workmen, the best of his lay priests, who knows the directions and is skilful in that which he knows, who does not transgress what was commanded him, to erect the monument of his father Osiris, to equip his everlasting statue. Execute the very secret things, no one seeing, no one beholding, no one knowing his body. Make for him the portable chapel-bark, of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, black copper, every splendid costly stone.' (The chief treasurer gives account of his obedience to these commands). 'I executed for him the offering-tables — sistrums of different sorts, necklace rattles, censers, a paten, a great oblation there. I did not remove them. I did not discontinue the work. I built the august barge of new cedar of the best of the terraces; its bow and its stern being of electrum, dazzling the lake, to make his voyage therein at his feast of the District of Peker.' "

"Furthermore His Majesty commanded to shape the great ennead of gods dwelling in Abydos; each one of them is mentioned by name; Khnum, Lord of Hirur, dwelling in Abydos; Khnum, Lord of the Cataract, dwelling in Abydos; Thoth, Leader of the Great Gods, Presider over Hesret; Horus, Presider over Letopolis; Harendotes: Upuat of the South, and Upuat of the North; mysterious and splendid were their bodies. Their standards were of

electrum, more excellent than their predecessors; more splendid were they than that which is in heaven; more secret were they than the fashion of the Underworld; more mysterious were they than the dwellers in Nun (the primeval element)."

"My Majesty did these things for my father Osiris", Thothmes goes on, "because I loved him so much more than all gods, in order that my name might abide and my monuments endure in the house of my father, Osiris, First of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos, forever and ever". The inscription closes with an adjuration to the priests not to forget their benefactor, in which the king certainly does not err on the side of minimising his own virtues and accomplishments. "The gods had joy in my time", he says, "their temples were in festivity". It is in the conclusion of this notable document that Thothmes makes the claim, already quoted, of having made the boundaries of Egypt world-wide, and set his country on a pinnacle above all other lands.

Meanwhile events had been happening within the family circle of the king which were destined to have most important consequences for the national history and welfare in the not distant future, and even, if some reconstructions of the story be correct, for Thothmes himself. The last survivor of the ancient generation which had seen the Hyksos tyranny and the deliverance from it, Queen Aahhotep, passed away, probably early in the reign, at an age not far short of a hundred years. The last record of this great lady which we possess is an inscription at Edfu of the mortuary priest Yuf, whom the old queen appointed to attend to the interests of her spirit after her demise. After recounting other services which he performed for his mistress, in repairing the family tombs, Yuf goes on: "O you who pass by this tablet, I will tell you, and I will cause you to hear my favour with the great King's Wife, Aahhotep. She appointed me to make the mortuary offerings for her spirit, and she put me in charge of the funerary statue of Her Majesty. She assigned to me 100 loaves of bread, 10 cakes, 2 jars of beer, and a joint from every ox (sacrificed), and I was given land on the upland,

and land on the plain. Moreover, she conferred another favour upon me; she gave me all her property in Edfu to administer for Her Majesty." So, with this provision for her future spiritual needs secured, greatly to the satisfaction, no doubt, of the favoured Yuf, this stately old figure departs into the darkness, and is represented to-day only by some jewellery in the Cairo Museum, and by an unidentified mummy, which may be hers, or may not.

Queen Aahhotep stood for the past; more immediately important were the figures which were coming upon the stage to influence the future. By the Great Royal Wife, Aahmes II., King Thothmes had a daughter, soon to be famous in Egypt as the great queen Hatshepsut, and to be probably the most renowned woman of ancient history, apart from semi-mythical figures, such as Semiramis. By one of his secondary wives, Mutnefert, the king had a son, probably some five or six years older than Hatshepsut, but of feeble physique, and with a less pure claim to royal dignities because of the inferior status of his mother. It has been supposed by various historians (*e.g.* Professor Breasted) that he had by another secondary wife, named Aset or Isis, the young prince who afterwards, as Thothmes III., was the most famous of all Egyptian sovereigns; but this is doubtful, and others prefer to regard Thothmes III. as the son of the prince already mentioned, who afterwards reigned as Thothmes II. Thus the son of Aset would be the grandson of Thothmes I. and the nephew of Queen Hatshepsut, instead of her half-brother. The relationships of the various members of the Egyptian royal family at this period, however, are, or at least appear to us to be, in such an inextricable tangle that the attempt to unravel them has only resulted, so far, in making confusion worse confounded. Meanwhile it is probably best to accept the facts of which we are sure, leaving the uncertainties to be dealt with as events bring them forward.

Thus we have the old king left, to our certain knowledge, with two possible heirs and claimants to the throne. Of these, Thothmes II., because of his sex and his greater age, had so far the stronger claim; but the weakness of his case was his birth of a secondary wife—a weakness which

could only be got over by his marriage with a princess of unmixed royal descent. On the other hand, Hatshepsut was of pure royal blood, her father being reigning king, while her mother was of the very bluest of royal blue blood, being the daughter of King Aahmes I., the Deliverer; but the Egyptians, in spite of their preference for reckoning purity of descent by the mother's side rather than by the father's, had decided objections to "the monstrous regiment of women", and, save in doubtfully authenticated legend, had never been ruled by a woman. It may be imagined that the problem of settling the succession under such conditions was not an easy one, and that King Thothmes had some anxious moments over it, as his reign began to draw towards its close.

According to one view of the course of events, he had still greater reason for anxiety. His own claim to the throne had never been of the very best, and had only been legitimised by his marriage with his half-sister, the princess Aahmes II., Hent-Temehu. But Queen Aahmes II. died while her husband was still reigning, as we know from the stele of the priest Yuf, from which we have already quoted. He says: "Another favour of the Great Royal Wife, Aahmes, Justified, whom King Aakheperkara (Thothmes I.) loves". The word "Justified", which he applies to the queen here, is evidence that she was already dead, and that her husband was still alive when this inscription was written. Therefore, the argument runs, his claim to the throne now became invalid again, and the probability is that opposition to him grew up within the state, and that the strictly Legitimist party succeeded in forcing his retirement in favour of either Hatshepsut or of the youngest Thothmes, whom they regard as his son, and not his grandson. It may be so, for the close of the reign is, as Breasted says, "involved in deep obscurity" (though in no deeper obscurity than that which surrounds some other reigns about which no such suppositions have been found necessary); but the theory of his deposition seems to ignore other probabilities altogether. Thothmes I. was no weakling, but a strong ruler, and a brilliant and successful soldier. He had, for good or evil, inspired the Egyptian nation with a new ambition,

which he had gratified by the campaign which had carried the Egyptian standards to a point that was only slightly overpassed even by the greatest of all Egyptian conquerors, Thothmes III. At home he had gratified the most important civil class in the community by his devotion to the temples of the gods and his zeal in their restoration. Where, one might ask, were the grounds for the supposed unpopularity which was to unseat such a king? Had he been an unsuccessful soldier, or impiously negligent of his duties to the gods, one can imagine the defect of his birth being brought up against him; but as it was, it is difficult to believe that a defect which never worried Thothmes III. and half-a-dozen other famous Egyptian Pharaohs should have been fatal to a king with one of the most triumphant records in Egyptian history.

It seems preferable, therefore, to take the natural order of succession as being that which represents the actual facts; all the more because, as Breasted admits, "the traces left by family dissensions on temple walls are not likely to be sufficiently decisive to enable us to follow the complicated struggle with certainty three thousand five hundred years later". We take it, then, that Hatshepsut's own statement, though only inscribed where it is now found considerably later than the event, represents in the main an actual fact, though she may have gilded her own favour with her father a little, and that she had already been presented to the magnates of the realm as destined for the succession, and accepted as heiress by them. There remained, however, the difficulty of a female sovereign; and it seems not unlikely that a concession was made to the advocates of a male succession by marrying Hatshepsut to her half-brother, Thothmes II., and compromising the matter on the basis of the joint occupation of the throne by the two claimants. It was not what the old king wished, if we may believe his daughter; but having regard to the respective characters of the prince and his wife, it may be presumed that Hatshepsut had not much doubt as to who would actually reign, no matter whether she was nominally Pharaoh or not. No doubt, it was not all that she desired; but Hatshepsut always strikes one as an eminently practical

woman, and she probably went upon the practical maxim, "If we cannot have what we would like, let us like what we have". In the end, she managed to secure her end quite effectually; probably she would never have done so had she stuck out at once for the strict letter of what she deemed her rights. Whether her marriage with her half-brother and his acknowledgment as nominal heir to the throne took place before the death of the old king, or was forced upon the Legitimist party after his death by the advocates of a male succession, is unknown, and will probably remain so forever; take place, however, it certainly did.

Another matter which must have given Thothmes some thought was the question of his own tomb—that matter of supreme importance to every Egyptian. Amenhotep I. had already shown his conviction that the old method of having the tomb and the tomb-chapel close together was a mistake. In point of fact, the erection of a magnificent and elaborate complex of funerary buildings was simply an advertisement to the tomb-robber that there was wealth to be had for the taking; and no complication of defences had sufficed to secure any royal tomb from robbery so far, not even though the defence was the colossal mass of the Great Pyramid. Amenhotep's plan of separating tomb and temple and making the tomb as inconspicuous as possible was therefore a step in the right direction, though, as events proved, the activity and skill of the Theban thieves had been underestimated, and proved sufficient to get the better of the utmost skill and secrecy on the part of the royal architects. Thothmes now resolved to follow the example of his predecessor and to improve upon it.

For the execution of his purpose, he called in his faithful architect, Ineni, who selected a site in the precipitous side of that wild and desolate valley which curves round behind the great bay of the Libyan cliffs opposite Thebes, now known as Der el-Bahri. This valley, afterwards to become famous as the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, or, more shortly, the Valley of the Kings, which was destined to contain more famous dust and a greater mass of treasure than any other spot on earth has ever held, was then entirely unoccupied, and Ineni had ample choice of sites.

His work was carried out with the utmost secrecy, perhaps by torchlight in the darkness of the night. The careful architect had already made experiments with all kinds of material and plaster, in view of the task which lay before him. "My mind", he says, "was always on the look-out, searching for the best materials. I made clay-fields, in order to plaster the tombs of the necropolis, a piece of work which the ancestors had not done, but which I found it necessary to do there. I made experiments for the benefit of those who should come after me; and this was a work on my own initiative, wisdom being my virtue; neither was there any command given to me about this by any elder; and I shall be praised because of my wisdom in after years by those who shall imitate what I have done, while I was Chief of Works." What the good man wishes us to understand is that he did all these things "off his own bat"; but the Egyptian language unfortunately did not offer him so convenient a phrase.

Now came the crucial moment for which all this work had been the preparation. "I supervised the excavation of the cliff-tomb of His Majesty alone, no one seeing, no one hearing." It is difficult to understand how such a work, involving the services of many skilled workmen, could have been carried out with the silence and secrecy of which Ineni speaks. Possibly the workmen may have been Syrian prisoners of war, and Ineni may have taken the grimmest and surest way to secure that they told no tales when the work was done, as Captain Flint did with the burying of his treasure. "Him and the six was alone here; he killed them every one. Six they were — and bones is what they are now." This is the view which has been generally accepted, in spite of the stain which it casts upon the kind-heartedness of an otherwise estimable architect and Master of Works. Perhaps things did happen so; human life, especially that of a prisoner of war, was not of much account in those days. But perhaps also we may have been libelling the estimable Ineni. It will be remembered, though the reference has not been commented upon in this connection, that when Thothmes I. gave his commands to the priests at Abydos to make new equipment for the shrine of Osiris,

the same command of absolute secrecy was laid upon them, and was expressed almost in the identical words which Ineni uses. "Execute the very secret things", says Thothmes, "no one seeing, no one beholding, no one knowing his body". It cannot be imagined that all the craftsmen who were employed upon the restoration of the shrine were to be murdered to secure secrecy. Obviously, what is meant is merely that the greatest possible care was to be taken to avoid the profanation of the divine mysteries by any more publicity than was absolutely indispensable. Perhaps the meaning of Ineni's grim-sounding phrase is, after all, no more than this, and we may dismiss the good architect without a stain on his character or his hands, and with an apology to him for having believed evil of so righteous a man for so long.

The new tomb was carefully disguised, and the entrance to the passages and chambers was "a mere hole in the cliff's foot, just high enough to admit a man standing upright". The tomb is now that numbered 38 in the Valley, and lies between numbers 14 and 15, the tombs of Queen Tausert and Seti II. It was first entered in modern times by M. Loret in 1899; but the body of the king had been long before removed to a sarcophagus of fine red crystalline sandstone in the tomb of his daughter Hatshepsut, and thence to the cache at Der el-Bahri, where it was found along with the others, in 1881. Only fragments of another similar sarcophagus now remain in the tomb.

The uncertainty which hangs around the close of the reign makes it impossible to reach certainty as to its total length. Breasted assigns to the king 30 plus x years reign; while Petrie gives him 25 and Weigall 13. The difference between the estimates of the first and second writers depends upon the view which is taken of the succession question; that between Weigall and the others is irreconcilable. Thothmes' mummy, if the mummy which was found in his coffin is actually his, shows him to have been a man of about 60 when he died, and of a strong and vigorous frame. An argument which does not seem to have been given the weight which it deserves in judging of the question of the disputed succession is the manner in which his

faithful servant Ineni describes his master's death, and the succession of Thothmes II. "The king rested from life", says the old architect, "going forth to heaven, having completed his years in gladness of heart. The Hawk in the nest appeared as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperenra (Thothmes II.)." There is no suggestion here either of a troubled end or a disputed succession. It may be argued that such suggestions are not to be expected in the writing of one who knew very well how to keep in with his masters, whoever they might happen to be, and who managed to maintain himself in royal favour during at least four reigns. But, on the other hand, this careful courtier does not hesitate to give us indications of the real state of affairs a little later, when Thothmes III. was nominally reigning, but the real power was in the hands of Hatshepsut. "Thothmes III.", he says, "stood in his place as king of the Two Lands, having become ruler upon the throne of the one who begat him. His sister, the Divine Consort, Hatshepsut, settled the affairs of the Two Lands according to her own ideas." The man who told the truth so plainly as all that was not in the least likely to hesitate to tell it about the conclusion of a reign which was long past, and the fact that he ascribes to Thothmes I. a tranquil and peaceful end is surely not to be discounted as merely official cant under these conditions.

CHAPTER XXII

AN INTERLUDE: THE REIGN OF THOTHMES II.

BEFORE we go on to trace the events which happened during the brief reign of Thothmes II., it may be as well to offer to the reader a typical specimen of the complicated reconstructions of the history of this period which have been made with the object of explaining the difficulties which are presented by the present condition of the monuments of the various rulers, with their alterations and erasures, and by such incidents as the non-erection of the second obelisk of Thothmes I. for twenty-three years. One of the latest of such reconstructions is as follows:

1. Thothmes I. either abdicates or is suppressed.
2. Thothmes III. reigns alone, possibly as a child, protected by a strong party.
3. Hatshepsut's party forces her upon Thothmes III. as co-regent; he may have acquiesced, since, by marrying the heiress, he would make his title secure.
4. After Thothmes III. had been on the throne some six years in all, Thothmes I. and Thothmes II. seize the throne, but are unable to make Thothmes III. relinquish his claims.
5. Thothmes I. dies, and a co-regency of Thothmes II. and III. follows, which lasts till the death of Thothmes II. two years later.
6. Hatsheput and Thothmes III. rule together for twelve years, until the former either dies or is forced to retire.
7. Thothmes III. rules alone, and cuts out the names of the queen and her supporters wherever he finds them.

“Even this complicated sequence”, remarks Mr. Engelbach, “does not absolutely explain all the observed facts, and it is still a matter of conjecture how such a state of affairs arose”. It may occur to the ordinary individual that when an interpretation of certain observed facts leads us to the construction of such a complicated sequence as assuredly never happened anywhere else in human history, there must surely be something wrong with the interpretation which leads us to contemplate a state of things which would seem fantastic even in Bedlam. It must be allowed that the facts are difficult to explain, and that, if it should turn out at last that no other explanation is forthcoming, we may be forced to the adoption of this nightmare series of acrobatic evolutions on and off the throne as the true history of forty years of the life of one of the most sensible of nations; but surely this should be the last resort, not to be accepted with cheerful light-heartedness, as if it were nothing out of the way. When an explanation is obviously more fantastic and more difficult than the difficulties which it is meant to explain, it seems more prudent to suspend judgment, and to be content meanwhile with a more commonplace account of the sequence of events of which we are moderately sure, than to burden history with a monstrous edifice of conjecture which may ultimately be found to rest on a misunderstanding of the meaning of the erasures and insertions which have constituted such a stumbling-block to students of the period. The following narrative of events is offered, therefore, only as a possible account of the actual course of the history, and without any suggestion that it completely accounts for the difficulties. It seems better to leave some untraced loose ends hanging out, than to commit ourselves to the inextricable tangle which is known as “The Feud of the Thutmosids”. Perhaps good fortune may some day bring us the clue to the bewildering maze; the acceptance of the clues offered by Sethe and his followers seems a counsel of despair. Even the Vicar of Bray would scarcely have proved agile enough for a position in the Egypt of the Thutmosids, as we are asked to believe it existed. Meanwhile we shall assume that events after the death of

Thothmes I. followed the course which Ineni definitely states them to have taken, and that when King Thothmes I. "rested from life, going forth to heaven, having completed his years in gladness of heart", "the Hawk in the Nest appeared as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt—Aakheperenra (Thothmes II.)".

The tranquil succession here apparently assumed by Ineni as a matter of course could scarcely have happened had not the position of the new king been legitimised by his marriage to the young princess Hatshepsut, who claimed, at a later stage, with what truth it is impossible to determine, to have been appointed by her father as his heir and destined successor. It is quite possible, in fact even probable, that neither Hatshepsut nor her party may have been satisfied with this arrangement, and that they only accepted it as a *pis aller* in view of the prejudice against the rule of a woman Pharaoh. The young queen knew pretty well the character of the man with whom she was to be associated, and probably she was fully aware of the fact that, although Thothmes II. might reign, it was she who would rule. On that footing she may have been content to accept a compromise which gave her distinctly less than she considered to be her due, in the hope that what she lost in one way she would gain, with perhaps a little more added, in another.

The new king was a tall and rather handsome young man, but apparently of delicate constitution and of rather an effeminate type. The records of his reign are extremely scanty for a period in which the limelight was beginning to be cast so much upon Egypt; and the little that is recorded of the king does not exhibit him as showing any particular vigour. Indeed, the Aswan inscription which tells of the suppression of the rebellion in Nubia is so worded as to suggest that Thothmes II. was not present in person to command his troops on this occasion, but merely came up to Aswan and held a court there, at which he received the prisoners brought in by the conquering army. After the usual preface, laudatory of the greatness and fame of the new Pharaoh, the inscription goes on: "One came to inform His Majesty as follows: The wretched Kush has

begun to rebel, those who were under the dominion of the Lord of the Two Lands purpose hostility, beginning to smite him. The inhabitants of Egypt are about to bring away the cattle behind the fortress which thy father built in his campaigns, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Akheperkara, living forever, in order to repulse the rebellious barbarians — His Majesty was furious thereat, like a panther, when he heard it. Said His Majesty, 'I swear, as Ra loves me, as my father, Lord of Gods, Amen, Lord of Thebes, favours me, I will not allow a single male among them to live'.

"Then His Majesty dispatched a numerous army into Nubia, on his first occasion of a campaign, in order to overthrow all those who were rebellious against His Majesty, or hostile to the Lord of the Two Lands. Then this army of His Majesty arrived at wretched Kush. This army of His Majesty overthrew those barbarians, according to all the command of His Majesty; they did not let live anyone among their males, except one of those children of the chief of wretched Kush, who was taken away alive as a living prisoner with their people to His Majesty. They were placed under the feet of the Good God; for His Majesty had appeared upon his throne when the living prisoners were brought in, which this army of His Majesty had captured. This land was made a subject of His Majesty as formerly; the people rejoiced, the chiefs were joyful; they gave praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, they lauded this god, excellent in examples of his divinity. It came to pass on account of the fame of His Majesty, because his father Amen loved him so much more than any king who has been since the beginning."

All this was very well; but the pompous verbiage cannot disguise the fact that King Thothmes II. sent on his army, but did not go with it himself, and only came up to Aswan to gather cheap laurels when all the danger was over. It was not in this fashion that his father vanquished the chief of Kush with his own hand, or that Thothmes III. made his name a household word in Egypt for centuries. Hatshepsut, we may imagine, was not ill-pleased to see her husband forfeiting the personal reputation and popularity



TEMPLE OF ELYON

which comes to a king who himself leads his army successfully in battle.

On another occasion, however, it appears that Thothmes did actually lead his host in person. Our informant as to this campaign, which was against the Beduin of the eastern desert, and may only have been one move in a larger warlike adventure, comes from an old acquaintance, Aahmes Pen-Nekheb, who now appears on the battlefield for the last time, though we shall meet him again shortly in another position, for which he was perhaps less qualified. Aahmes treats us with his usual off-handedness and scorn of effect. "I followed King Aakheperenra, justified," he says; "there were brought off for me in Shasu very many living prisoners; I did not count them"—matters of such small moment being beneath my notice, presumably! It may be noticed that Thothmes was dead when this inscription was written for the old soldier, so that the appointment which graced his old age, and no doubt caused him far more worry than his soldierly duties, was the work of Queen Hatshepsut alone.

A much mutilated scrap of inscription from Der el-Bahri suggests that the fighting in the Shasu campaign may merely have been communication work belonging to the bigger campaign which was being waged against the north Syrians. The broken sentences seem to indicate the presence of the king on an expedition which must have almost reached the limit formerly attained by Thothmes I. "Gifts which were brought to the fame of the King Aakheperenra, from his victories——elephants, horses——(Retenu) the Upper——the land of Niy——kings——His Majesty in——he came out of——" Niy is near the great bend of the Euphrates, so that if he was there King Thothmes had almost rivalled his father; but the inscription is so fragmentary that it is impossible to say anything definite about the expedition, in default of corroboration from other sources.

At home there was a good deal of building activity, though it is impossible to say how much of it is really due to Thothmes, and how much to the energy of his masterful wife. He began at Karnak the pylon now numbered IX,

though it was completed by Thothmes III., and he also began the decoration of several chambers of the temple which were left unfinished at his death. At Semneh and Kummeh, the two old frontier fortresses of the Middle Kingdom in Nubia, he has left traces of his work, while remains of his are found as far south as Gebel Barkal, and as far west as the Farafra Oasis.

The indispensable Ineni, now getting rather up in years, but still active, was largely employed upon the new buildings, and rubs his hands with pleasure over the favour which he enjoyed in this placid period. "I was a favourite of the king in every place of his; greater was that which he did for me than for those who preceded me. I attained the old age of the revered, I possessed the favour of His Majesty every day. I was supplied from the table of the king with bread of the offerings made for the king, beer likewise, meat, fat-meat, vegetables, various fruits, honey, cakes, wine, oil. My necessities were apportioned me in health and life, as His Majesty himself said, for love of me." Ineni, as we shall see shortly, had a sneaking preference for Hatshepsut, whose abilities and strong will must have commended themselves to a capable business man far more than the dilettantism of the somewhat effeminate king; but the old Clerk of Works knew on which side his bread was buttered.

The ill-assorted marriage of Thothmes and Hatshepsut had produced no son to be undoubted heir to the throne. A daughter, Neferura, had been borne early in the reign; then a long interval had followed, during which, according to some ideas, there may have been an estrangement between husband and wife, though the only evidence is the absence of any further addition to the royal family during these years. Finally there was born—not the son, whose birth Hatshepsut would no doubt have desired as rendering her position impregnable—but another daughter, Merytra Hatshepsut. So far as the pure royal line was concerned, therefore, difficulties were certain to arise upon the death of Thothmes, unless it proved possible either for Hatshepsut to secure herself in the position of acknowledged Pharaoh, or for a male claimant to secure sufficient

support from the king's nomination and from a strong party in the state, to ensure the thrusting aside of Hatshepsut and her daughters.

There was now living a male member of the royal household who, though he was only the son of a secondary wife, might become a dangerous rival to Hatshepsut and her children in the event of the death of King Thothmes II., or even by his being prevailed upon to name the young man as his heir. This was the young Prince Thothmes, afterwards Thothmes III. The filiation of this most famous of Egyptian Pharaohs is still uncertain. His mother Aset or Isis was secondary wife of one of the earlier Thothmes; but whether of Thothmes I. or Thothmes II. is uncertain, and seems likely to remain so. If his father was Thothmes I., he was half-brother both to Thothmes II. and to Hatshepsut, and Hatshepsut, who had a better claim to the throne than her husband, had obviously a still better claim than the younger prince. If Thothmes II. was his father, then his relation to Hatshepsut was that either of a nephew or a step-son, according to the point of view from which we choose to regard these curiously complicated family ties. In either case, Hatshepsut's claim ranked before his; except under one condition. Thothmes II. might be persuaded or coerced into declaring the young prince his heir, and insisting on his marriage to one of the daughters of Hatshepsut; in which case he would have a claim which would rank as equally good with that of his aunt-step-mother, and would probably carry greater weight on account of the prejudice against a female sovereign.

Hatshepsut either had already asserted her claim or was preparing to assert it by means of the statement, which may or may not have been in accordance with actual fact, that her father had destined her for the heirship from her earliest days and had, indeed, presented her as the future queen to the court, who had duly acknowledged her. If we may believe the statement which Thothmes III. makes in his inscription at Karnak, he had been chosen out as king by an even more august authority, for the god Amen had inclined himself to the young man during a great public

function at which the reigning Pharaoh was officiating, thus indicating that the prince, though at this time only a priest in Amen's temple, was the divine choice as king. This choice, according to Thothmes III., was immediately ratified by the reigning Pharaoh, who may have been either Thothmes I. or Thothmes II., according to the view which we take of his paternity, and was acknowledged by the assembled community.

It is difficult to tell whether either or both of the claimants may be lying in the claims which were thus put forward. On the whole, that of Hatshepsut seems to be more likely to have been true; simply because to a modern mind it seems more likely that a fond mortal father should declare a favourite daughter his heir, than that a god should make a special revelation to place one of his priests upon the throne. The image of Amen may have bowed before the young Thothmes, who may therefore so far have been telling the truth; but this only proves that the priests of Amen, like others of their class in all ages, knew how to work the oracle in the interests of their favourite.

It is possible that this incident may have taken place fairly early in the reign of Thothmes II., and that its occurrence, and the weakness of the king in allowing himself to be influenced by the cunning action of the priests, may have been the cause of the estrangement between him and Hatshepsut which some have supposed to exist.

If so, then we may suppose that Hatshepsut did not accept defeat at the hands of the party of the male succession, and managed to reconcile herself to her weak husband, and so far to consolidate her position as to make it impossible for the opposing party to ignore or set aside her claims when the time came, with the death of Thothmes II., for settling the succession on a working basis. One may imagine that poor Thothmes II., thus situated between the Devil and the Deep Sea, found his latter years none of the most comfortable. It has even been imagined, from the condition of his mummy, that one or other of the claimants, or some enthusiastic members of one or other party, may have found it convenient to hasten his end by poison; but Professor Elliot Smith thinks it more likely

that he died of some virulent disease, though after the lapse of so many centuries it is impossible to pronounce definitely on the matter. Ineni's comment is simply: "He went forth to heaven, having mingled with the gods". One can believe that the poor man was rather glad than otherwise to close his eyes on a scene where, with an active, managing wife on the one side of him, and a clamorous heir on the other, he must often have been sorely badgered and worried.

His tomb had already been prepared in the northern end of the Valley of the Kings, close to that of his father. It still contains a sarcophagus of quartzite sandstone, uninscribed; but the mummy of the king was removed, with many others, to the cache at Der el-Bahri, where it was found by Brugsch in 1881. Queen Hatshepsut, however, had other views for her own eternal habitation, and had no desire to spend millenniums in company with a husband for whom she had apparently never cherished undue affection. Accordingly she chose for herself a most remote and inaccessible site in a ravine far to the west of the Valley; and here she caused a tomb to be hewn in the face of the cliff, about 200 feet above the floor of the ravine, and 137 feet below the top of the cliff. The work was never finished, for with her rise to independent rule the queen acquired more grandiose views as to her sepulchre; but a fine sarcophagus of quartzite sandstone was hewn for her, and was placed in this eagle's nest with almost incredible labour, and in a fashion which heightens our already high opinion of the skill and patience of Egyptian engineers. Dr. Howard Carter has told us the romantic story of how this unique tomb was rescued by him (at considerable personal risk) from the hands of the robbers who had driven off the other robbers who had discovered it in 1916. The adventure was so thrilling that it is a pity that its conclusion was not more satisfactory; but the great queen had never occupied her lonely eyrie in the western cliffs, and the inscription on the empty sarcophagus showed, by the simple title of "Divine Consort" which it gave her, that its preparation had belonged to the less ambitious days before she took the government into her own hands. But years of

glory and power still lay before her on the day when her husband was laid to rest beside his father, missed apparently by nobody in particular; and she had other things to think of in the meantime than a choice of tombs.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE REIGN AND WORK OF THE WOMAN-PHARAOH

You will look in vain for the name of Queen Hatshepsut in the various lists of those sovereigns who are officially reckoned to have worn the Double Crown. The omission of a name so important and so glorious is due, of course, to two reasons: First, that in spite of the high position accorded to women in ancient Egypt, the nation could never reconcile itself to the idea that a queen, no matter how ably and well she might govern, was really a fit ruler for the nation. Consequently the best way to deal with such an anomaly as the rule of a female Pharaoh was to ignore the fact that it had ever existed. Second, that though for many years Queen Hatshepsut was the real ruler of the land, claiming and using all the titles and prerogatives of Pharaoh, her reign was overlapped by the quite nominal rule of Thothmes III., who enjoyed the titles, though not the reality, of Egyptian sovereignty. Consequently, when the official lists were being compiled, and the masterful queen was no longer there to claim her rightful position, it was a simple matter to use the fiction that she had never reigned at all. A third reason lay in the fact that her successor, who seems to have hated her with a perfect hatred, for reasons which we can dimly understand, had every reason for wishing to blot out from human memory the fact that she had ever kept him in such degrading tutelage. Had Thothmes III. proved either a weak or an unpopular Pharaoh, it might have proved impossible for him to accomplish this scarcely noble aim; but instead he turned out to be the most energetic king who ever sat upon the throne of Egypt, and whatever popularity Hatshepsut may

have enjoyed with the members of her own party in the state was as nothing to the universal popularity which the conqueror of Asia enjoyed throughout the land, and which finally made him into a legendary hero, and placed his name upon two out of every three inscribed amulets in existence. It was consequently easy for Thothmes to accomplish, to a great extent, his rather mean and unworthy design of making it appear that his predecessor had never really reigned.

I have used the words "predecessor" and "successor" to represent the relationships between Hatshepsut and Thothmes rather than any of the more ordinary terms expressive of family connection; for indeed no ordinary terms are sufficient to define in what actual relationship the two sovereigns stood to one another. Hatshepsut may have been the aunt of Thothmes III., as used to be held, or she may have been his sister, according to some modern historians; or again, she may have been his step-mother; while she was certainly his mother-in-law, and, in addition, may possibly have been his wife. There may be other possible permutations and combinations of the two royalties; but these obvious ones are probably sufficient or more than sufficient for the ordinary reader. Indeed, even predecessor and successor scarcely represent the situation accurately enough; for though Hatshepsut certainly preceded Thothmes III., and he certainly succeeded her, there was a considerable period when, much to the disgust of the king, they were contemporaries. The situation is more like what one might imagine the nightmare of a genealogist to be than anything which one can believe to have actually happened; but even the simplest of reconstructions is "not without its difficulties", as Professor Breasted delicately puts it, and the more complicated efforts at simplification make the brain reel. It will be best, therefore, to weave a circle thrice round the fatal question of family relations at this point, and content ourselves with the simple statement of what we know to have happened when Queen Hatshepsut was at least in effective occupation of the throne, whatever may have been her relations with the other claimant to royalty.

The position was something like this: Thothmes III. had, by the trick to which his party had induced him and the other priests of Amen to lend themselves, and by the assent (however induced) of Thothmes II., secured his own nomination as successor to the dead king. He had probably a considerable party in the state, composed of people who were genuine believers in the idea that it was not right to have a female Pharaoh, and also of that most powerful body, the priestly college of Amen, who, as we may assume, cared not a sixpence whether a king or a queen sat on the throne, but a great deal that one of their own body should come to a position in which he could dispense favours to his former colleagues. On the other hand, while Thothmes was only a lad, Queen Hatshepsut was a clever and strong-willed woman in the very prime of her powers. She had all the prestige attaching to pure solar blood; and she also had her story of how her father, the conqueror who had made Egypt mistress of the world, had intended her, even from her birth, as his heiress, and had indeed succeeded in securing her acknowledgment from the magnates of his court. She, too, had her party, and, if we may judge from the work which she got out of her supporters later, it contained some of the most capable men in the land. Betwixt and between these two groups of heated partisans, we may imagine, stood the great body of the people, who cared little enough whether the Good God were a man or a woman, so long as they were allowed to live in peace and prosperity.

We may believe that these Laodiceans were not without their own leaders and men of ability, and indeed it is not difficult to see that so prominent a man as our old friend, the king's architect, Ineni, was one of them, and believed with all his heart that "that which is best administered is best", no matter who administered it. The fact that there ensued no civil war, but that a working compromise seems to have been arrived at without strife, would appear to indicate that the Laodiceans may have asserted themselves, and insisted on the partisans of the two claimants composing their differences.

The working arrangement seems to have been this:

That Thothmes and Hatshepsut should both be recognised as sovereigns, Thothmes being nominally Pharaoh, while Hatshepsut held the administration largely in her own hands. It is just possible that in order to secure undoubted validity for this arrangement a nominal marriage may have been entered into between the young king and his middle-aged relative, though this is scarcely likely, in view of the marriage which took place later between Thothmes and the younger daughter of Hatshepsut, the Princess Merytra Hatshepsut, who at this time can only have been a few years old. In any case, Hatshepsut, though obliged to concede something to her young rival, no doubt felt that by so doing she gained more than she lost. Instead of being relegated to the dignified and useless position of a mere queen-dowager, she held the title of Divine Consort, and had evidently command of a sufficient body of adherents to secure that it was her will, rather than that of her colleague on the throne, which was carried out.

It appears that for the first eight years of this working arrangement the compromise was observed to the extent that it was the name of Thothmes III. which was used in public inscriptions and decrees, while that of Hatshepsut is not mentioned at all as ruling sovereign; but Ineni's account of affairs tells us very amusingly what was the actual state of the case. After telling us, as we heard a little ago, of the death of Thothmes II., he goes on: "His son stood in his place as King of the Two Lands, having become ruler upon the throne of the one who begat him. His sister, the Divine Consort, Hatshepsut, carried on the affairs of the Two Lands according to her own ideas. Egypt was made to work in submission to her, who was the excellent offspring of the god, and who came forth from him. The bow-rope of the South, the mooring-stake of the Southerners; the excellent stern-rope of the Northland is she; the Lady of Command, whose plans are excellent, who satisfies the Two Regions when she speaks." It is not difficult to see that Ineni, whatever his opinions as to female rule may have been, quite realised the situation, and had no doubt whatsoever as to which of his two sovereigns was the real ruler of the land. Neither is there much doubt

as to his preference. He had evidently a most wholesome respect for the abilities and the will of the royal lady who issued orders to him; and she, on her part, like a wise woman, took care that a good servant like Ineni should have substantial reasons, in addition to his admiration for her talents, to bind him to her party. The good man found serving Hatshepsut to be a profitable as well as an advisable course of action, and was perfectly well aware of where security lay for the time.

"Her Majesty praised me," he says, "she loved me, she recognised my worth at the court, she presented me with things, she magnified me, she filled my house with silver and gold, with all beautiful stuffs of the royal house". Small wonder that the recipient of these favours was quite content to be ruled even by a female Pharaoh, so long as the fountain of favour continued to flow abundantly.

It appears that this typical specimen of the canny type of Egyptian official ended his long and busy career before his loyalty to his great lady was tested by the rise of Thothmes III. to actual power and his persecution of Hatshepsut's memory and of the leading members of her party. He was taken away from the evil to come which played such havoc with the reputations of such prominent men as Senmut and Senmen, Nehesi and Thutiy, and his tomb was spared the sacrilegious attacks which have defaced the records of these whole-hearted supporters of the great queen. We have reaped the advantage of his being *felix opportunitate mortis* in our ability to read his candid account of how things went in these stirring and anxious days. He bids us good-bye in a passage which is perhaps the most amusingly characteristic part of his whole story, and is thoroughly typical, as well, of the genuine Egyptian official's sleek self-righteousness and complete contentment with himself and his doings. There was none of the "miserable sinner" attitude of mind in Ineni's review of his honourable career of service; he was rather of the "I thank thee that I am not as other men are" type—like most of his brethren in all ages of Egyptian history.

"I became great beyond words," he concludes, "I will

tell you about it, ye people; listen, and do the good that I did—just like me. I continued powerful in peace, and met with no misfortune; my years were spent in gladness. I was neither a traitor nor a sneak, and I did no wrong whatever. I was foreman of the foremen, and I did not fail; an excellent one for the heart of his lord, I was one who hearkened to what his superior said. My heart was not double towards the great ones in the palace. I did that which the god of the city loved, and I never blasphemed sacred things. As for the one who passes his years as a favourite, his name shall live with the All-Lord, his good name shall be in the mouth of the living, his memory and his excellence shall be forever. The revered dignitary, the overseer of the granary of Amen, the scribe, Ineni, justified.”

The comment of Mr. Engelbach, spoken from the heart out of a wide experience of what he is talking about, is interesting. “If he handled oriental labour for some forty years without blaspheming, it was not the least of his achievements.” One may add that if his heart was not double, as he says, towards the great ones in the palace, when the situation was so ticklish as it was in the days of Thothmes and Hatshepsut, he was indeed a model of uprightness. The time we have given to his candid account will not have been wasted if it helps us to realise the essential difference, wide and deep as the ocean, between an Egyptian official’s idea of the meaning of success, and a higher ideal. “As for the one who passes his years as a favourite, his name shall live with the All-Lord . . . his memory and his excellence shall be forever.” That is the essential Egyptian—perhaps a good man within his limits; but how narrow they were. It took a deeper vision of realities to produce a judgment such as “Woe unto thee when all men speak well of thee”. The student of Egyptian story ought never to allow himself to forget that he is dealing with a race whose canon was the first and not the second of these two maxims, if he wishes to save himself from misunderstandings, and his subject from unjust judgments.

It may be as well to give here the relevant portions of the inscription in which Thothmes makes his statement as

to the divine interposition on which he based his claim to the throne. It is found in a long and important inscription on the outside wall of the south side of the chambers south of the sanctuary at Karnak, and dates from a later period in his history, recording his many and important gifts to the temple of Amen; but the political significance of the statement belongs to these early days when it was as yet an unsettled question whether he or Hatshepsut should be the governing power in the state. After a mutilated beginning, the statement goes on as follows:

"I am his (*i.e.* Amen's) son, whom he commanded that I should be upon his throne, while I was one dwelling in his nest; he begat me in uprightness of heart — there is no lie therein; since My Majesty was a stripling, while I was a youth in his temple, before my installation to be prophet had occurred. I was in the capacity of the Pillar-of-his-Mother (a priestly title, referring originally to the god Horus), like the youth Horus in Khemmis. I was standing in the northern hypostyle — the splendours of his horizon. He made festive heaven and earth with his beauty; he received great marvels (of offerings?), his rays were in the eyes of the people like the coming forth of Harakhte. The people they gave to him praise — the altar of his temple. His Majesty placed for him incense upon the fire, and offered to him a great oblation consisting of oxen, calves, mountain goats — The god made the circuit of the hall on both sides of it, searching for My Majesty in every place, though the heart of those who were in front did not comprehend his actions. On recognising me, he halted — I threw myself on the pavement, I prostrated myself in his presence. He set me before His Majesty. I was stationed at the 'Station-of-the-King'. He was astonished at me — without untruth. Then they revealed before the people the secrets in the hearts of the gods, who know these his — ; there was none who knew them, there was none who revealed them (saving himself?). He opened for me the doors of heaven; he opened the portals of the horizon of Ra. I flew to heaven as a divine hawk, beholding his form in heaven; I adored His Majesty — feast. I saw the glorious forms of the Horizon God upon his mysterious ways in

heaven. Ra himself established me, I was dignified with the diadems which were upon his head, his serpent-diadem rested upon my forehead, he satisfied me with his glories; I was seated with the counsel of the gods, like Horus, when he counted his body at the house of my father, Amen-Ra." The wonderful story goes on to recount how the god himself chose for Thothmes the titulary by which he should be known.

This was all very well, and doubtless quite satisfactory to those who were prepared already to support the candidature of Thothmes; though we may have our own opinions as to the manœuvres by means of which Amen was brought to a halt exactly opposite to the young prince. But there was an equally fine story in support of Queen Hatshepsut, which even more circumstantially declared her to be the direct offspring of Amen himself, who had assumed the form of King Thothmes I. in order that Queen Aahmes might become the mother of Hatshepsut by divine paternity, which declared her to have been acknowledged by Amen at her birth as his own daughter, to have been nursed by gods and goddesses, and to have been acknowledged by all the gods as the future Pharaoh of Egypt. Moreover, this divine transaction, which otherwise might have been viewed with something of the same suspicion which attaches to Amen's acknowledgment of Thothmes, was followed up, so says Hatshepsut's story, by a public presentation of the young princess, then in the flower of her youth and beauty, to the assembled court as heiress and successor of Thothmes I.

The narrative, which afterwards was inscribed on the walls of the queen's great temple at Der el-Bahri, is too long to be given in full; but the portion describing the presentation of Hatshepsut to the assembled nobles, and her acknowledgment by them, may be quoted, as being the part of the greatest political significance; for such a statement could scarcely have been altogether a fiction, and it was this presentation which must have been the greatest asset of the queen in her struggle for power. Incidentally we are presented, in an earlier part of the narrative, with a word picture of the beauty of the young princess, from

which we may gather that the great queen had quite a good opinion of her own looks, and that, in spite of her masculine energy, she was by no means superior to the engaging little vanities of her sex. "Her Majesty", we are told, "grew beyond everything; to look upon her was more beautiful than anything; her form was like a god, she did everything as a god, her splendour was like a god; Her Majesty was a maiden, beautiful, blooming, Buto (the goddess) in her time. She made her divine form to flourish, by favour of him that fashioned her."

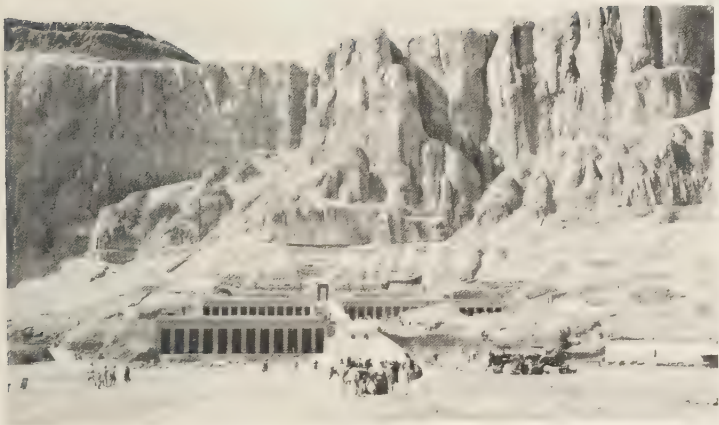
This blooming young scion of divinity is brought into the presence of her earthly father Thothmes I. "Said His Majesty to her: 'Come, glorious one! I have placed thee before me, that thou mayest see thine administrations in the palace, and the excellent deeds of thy *kas*, that thou mayest assume thy royal dignity, glorious in thy magic, and mighty in thy strength. My Majesty caused that there be brought to him the dignitaries of the king, the nobles, the companions, the officers of the court, and the chief of the people, that they may do homage, to set the Majesty of the daughter of this Horus before him in his palace.' There was a sitting of the king himself, in the audience-chamber of the right of the court, while the people prostrated themselves in the court.

"Said His Majesty to them: 'This my daughter Khnum-Amen, Hatshepsut, who liveth, I have appointed her; she is my successor, she it is assuredly who shall sit upon my wonderful seat. She shall command the people in every place of the palace; she it is who shall lead you; ye shall proclaim her word, ye shall be united at her command. He who shall do her homage shall live; he who shall speak evil in blasphemy of Her Majesty shall die. . . . 'The dignitaries of the king, the nobles and the chief of the people hear this command of the dignity of his daughter, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkara (Hatshepsut), living forever. They kissed the earth at his feet, when the royal word fell among them; they praised all the gods for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara (Thothmes I.), living forever. They went forth, their mouths rejoiced, they published his proclamation to them.'"

It can scarcely be imagined that so circumstantial an account had absolutely no basis in fact, for even when it was carved upon the walls at Der el-Bahri there must have been many people living who were quite familiar with the events of Hatshepsut's youth, and still more must this have been the case when the story was being used as a lever in the struggle for the throne. Thus Hatshepsut's legend was quite as positive in its assertions and claims as that of her rival, and was even more picturesque in its details. In the meantime, at all events, it was Hatshepsut and her party who gained the upper hand, and though there is no sign of any open struggle or any formal deposition of Thothmes III., he is gradually elbowed aside, and from about the eighth year of his nominal reign we find him entirely relegated to the background, and Hatshepsut assuming the full dignity and state of an acknowledged Pharaoh.

The fact of having a female Pharaoh was a source of some little difficulty to the scribes who had to compose the decrees and inscriptions of her reign, and the sculptors who had to carve her temple walls. It was necessary to maintain the fiction that Pharaoh was a man, and the queen is frequently represented in male guise; but the consciousness of her femininity is always creeping in, and the genders of pronouns and adjectives are perplexing and disturbing to authors and engravers, who give us occasionally such combinations as "Her Majesty himself". A slight example of the complication arising from this cause may be seen in the part of the coronation inscription just quoted where the queen is described as "his daughter, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt".

Notwithstanding this slight difficulty, which must have caused much searching of heart on the part of the permanent officials of the government, to whom, as to their successors in our time, it must have offered a problem which they rolled as a sweet morsel under their tongues, the reign of Hatshepsut was a notable and successful one. "Great though she was," says Professor Breasted, "her rule was a distinct misfortune, falling as it did at a time when Egypt's power in Asia had not yet been seriously tested, and Syria was only too ready to revolt". It is diffi-



THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT, DER EL-BAHRI

1. A general view. *By permission of Rev. P. B. Fraser, M.A.*
2. The north colonnade

cult, however, to see any grounds for such a judgment on a reign which in other respects was not the least glorious among the reigns of the greater Pharaohs. Hatshepsut, certainly, led no armies into Syria; and Syria promptly revolted immediately upon the great queen's death, so that Thothmes III. had to assert Egyptian dominion at once. But, on the other hand, Syria apparently remained quite submissive during all Hatshepsut's reign; and if we are to accept the fact of a Syrian revolt at the death of a reigning Pharaoh as evidence that his reign had been a misfortune, a good many reigns will have to wear the same label as Dr. Breasted would fasten on that of Hatshepsut. Rebellion at a change of the occupant of the throne is the normal form of Eastern acknowledgment that a change has taken place, and is merely a gentle method of attempting to find out how far it will be safe to go with the new ruler. It would not be difficult to make out a case of quite another kind, and to assert that if Egypt had continued to mind her own business as she did in the reign of Hatshepsut, it might have been better in the end for herself and for the world. Her Asiatic adventures brought her for a time some glory, a considerable amount of wealth, both in treasure and human captives, and the reputation of being the richest country in the world; but the glory soon faded, the loot debased the taste of the Egyptian artist and craftsman far more than it enriched the land, while the devotion of so much of it to the aggrandisement of a single god made Amenism the blight which destroyed Egyptian originality in all respects; and Egypt's reputation for wealth, coupled with her habit of interfering in Asiatic politics, resulted finally in her complete overthrow at the hands of Asiatics who had learned to regard her as a compound of bloated capitalist and interfering nuisance. Hatshepsut's way might have proved the wiser in the end after all; and there is surely little ground for talking of her pacific rule as a misfortune. Sir Flinders Petrie's verdict may be set against the less favourable judgment: "Egypt developed greatly during twenty years of peace and commerce, and resources were husbanded".

For good or for evil, Queen Hatshepsut was now fairly

launched on her career of absolute power. The sweetness of her triumph must have been diminished by the thought that she had no male heir to succeed her, so that, in the event of her decease, the crown must pass after all to Thothmes, should he survive her; and it is perhaps to her credit, or perhaps an indication that the family feud was not quite so deadly as historians would have us believe, that he was allowed to survive, and was not removed by any of the means, in which Eastern courts have always been so fertile, for removing awkward claimants to power. Of her two daughters, one, Neferura, who was destined to an early death, had been entrusted, some time before, to the care of two oddly chosen dry-nurses. One was Senmut, the queen's architect, and the most famous man of the age; the other was our taciturn friend Aahmes Pen-Nekheb, who must now have been past active service. The last incomplete paragraph of the old soldier's autobiography tells us of his appointment: "The Divine Consort, the Great King's Wife, Maatkara, justified, repeated honours to me. I reared her eldest daughter, the Royal Daughter Neferura, justified, while she was a child upon the breast." It will be noticed that the veteran outlived both the queen and his young charge, as he calls them both "justified". The queen's object in appointing two so strangely chosen mentors for her daughter was probably simply to attach them more closely to her party; certainly neither the architect nor the soldier seems the most suitable of nurses for a young princess. It is possible that the princess was married shortly before her death to Thothmes III., though this has hitherto been denied; for a tablet has been found in Sinai on which she is named Divine Consort. In any case, her life was cut short in the flower of her youth, and Thothmes was finally married to her younger sister, Merytra Hatshepsut, who became his Great Royal Wife and the mother of his heir Amenhotep II.—possibly another indication that the feud was not so bitter as has been supposed, as Hatshepsut obviously had it in her power to have impaired her rival's right to succeed her by marrying the princess to someone else, instead of allowing

a marriage which would render the claim of Thothmes absolutely inpregnable.

The queen's first important act as an independent sovereign was the commencement of the great mortuary temple which was to commemorate her after her death, and provide a place where her spirit could be ministered to. She chose for her purpose the great bay in the Libyan cliffs at Der el-Bahri, where Mentuhotep Neb-hapet-Ra of the XIth Dynasty had erected his shrine six centuries before. Mentuhotep's temple was probably by this time partially ruined; but at least it offered to the queen's architect the suggestion of how it would be best to treat such a site, which, with great opportunities, offered also to the designer the danger of a disastrous failure, if he did not appreciate the limitations imposed upon him by the character of the background against which his work had to be set and viewed. Since the earlier temple has been completely excavated, it has become customary to deny to Hatshepsut's architect any claim to originality in the design which he evolved for the great temple. "Hatshepsut's temple", says Dr. H. R. Hall (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, vol. of Plates i. 88), "was directly imitated from that of her predecessor, to whom, and not to her or her architect Sennemut, any praise for its supposed (not real) originality of design is due". This, however, is to carry purism to an extravagant extent. It is quite obvious that Hatshepsut and her architect took the suggestion of a terraced temple from the earlier building beside which they were placing their own; but that is the beginning and the end of their indebtedness to the earlier architect. Senmut appreciated a good suggestion when he saw it—all the more credit to him for his commonsense; but to say that he must therefore be denied any credit for originality is to set up a canon of criticism which would deprive Shakespeare of the credit for the creation of Hamlet, and Donatello of that for the creation of the Gattamelata statue. Having got his suggestion, he proceeded to glorify it, until he had produced a building which is infinitely superior, in everything except the actual mason-work, to that of the earlier architect. Mertisen's temple (if it be his),

interesting though it be, is stumpy and sawn-off-looking compared with the grace of the successive terraces, the long ramps, and the graceful colonnades of the XVIIIth Dynasty artist; while, if it was completed, as is suggested, by a small pyramid, it deliberately sacrificed the very gain of long horizontal lines for which its terraces were designed, and which was the one possible gain of using such a design and such a site together, and put a fool's cap on the whole structure by inviting comparison between the towering cliffs and the diminutive pyramid which perked up below them. Senmut's work, on the other hand, disturbs us by no distracting element. Its successive stages, with their long lines of alternating light and shadow, actually emphasise, instead of competing with, the height of the giant cliffs behind them, but offer to us a totally different kind of majesty and beauty in which the work of man, no longer aspiring to rivalry with that of Nature, derives fresh loveliness from the majestic setting in which it has been placed.

Mentuhotep's temple, with its single ramp and its two stages, occupied only the southern part of the great bay of Der el-Bahri, leaving ample space on the northern side for the work which the queen now contemplated. The design which was submitted to the queen by her architect Senmut was one which, while taking advantage of the conception already illustrated on the site, developed it in a fashion which made it a new thing, not only in scale, but also in effect. Its three stages were approached by long ramps of easy slope, whose gently-rising lines all contributed to the effect of horizontality by which the architect avoided the risk of competition with the setting of his building; while the admirably proportioned colonnades which face the terraces "exhibit", says Breasted, "such an exquisite sense of proportion and of proper grouping as to quite disprove the common assertion that the Greeks were the first to understand the art of adjusting external colonnades, and that the Egyptians understood only the employment of the column in interiors".

The decorative work which adorned the walls under the shelter of these colonnades was not less remarkable

than the architectural fabric which it was intended to beautify; but, in order to appreciate it, and the theme which it illustrates, it will be necessary to interrupt for a little the account of the great temple itself, and turn to the noteworthy adventure whose course and success was illustrated at Der el-Bahri in a series of coloured reliefs, which, as Professor Breasted says, "are as beautiful in execution as they are important in content".

The idea of a voyage to Punt was, as we have seen, no new thing to Egyptian monarchs and sailors. The voyage had been made repeatedly by the sailors and explorers of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and one of the earliest of Egyptian romances tells the tale of the sailor who was shipwrecked on a voyage to Punt, and was cast up on an enchanted island. The land was valuable to the Egyptians chiefly as the source of the myrrh which was used as incense in the temple services; but it yielded also other precious products, such as gold-dust, ebony, and ivory. In addition, the Egyptians attached a certain tradition of romance to the country, and believed themselves to have had an ancient connection with it, and indeed to have sprung originally from a kindred stock. Its inhabitants are depicted as wearing the conventional beard with a turned-up tip which is worn by the Egyptian gods; and the land itself is called in Egyptian literature the Divine Land, or God's Land, and sometimes the Land of Shades or Ghosts. But for a considerable period, probably owing to the distracted state of the country before and during the Hyksos occupation, the habit of visiting this southern land had been intermitted.

The god Amen himself is represented in the Der el-Bahri inscriptions as describing the disuse of the ancient habit of voyaging to Punt: "None now trod the Myrrh-terraces, which the people knew not; it was only heard of from mouth to mouth, by hearsay of the ancestors. The marvels brought thence under thy fathers, the Kings of Lower Egypt, were passed from hand to hand, and since the time of the ancestors of the Kings of Upper Egypt, who were of old, as a return for many payments; none reaching them except thy carriers." "But I will cause thy

army to tread them," continues the god, "I have led them on water and on land to explore the waters of inaccessible channels, and I have reached the Myrrh-terraces. It is a glorious region of God's Land; it is indeed a place of delight. I have made it for myself, in order to divert my heart, together with Mut, Hathor, Wereret, mistress of Punt, the mistress 'Great-in-Sorcery', mistress of all gods."

Hatshepsut's design, in attempting the renewal of the direct commerce with Punt which had been discontinued for so long, was primarily the enrichment of the surroundings and the equipment of her great mortuary temple, which, like others, was not only dedicated to the *manes* of the queen, but to the service of a god as well—in this case the god Amen. It was her wish to establish, as she said, "a Punt in Amen's house", to plant the trees of God's Land beside his temple, in his garden, according as he commanded, so that the god might no longer be dependent for his services on scanty supplies of the incense-gum which had been passed from hand to hand, but might have ample stores to draw upon, and a living source of supply in his own garden. This design was embarked upon, according to the queen's statement, in obedience to a direct revelation of his will from Amen himself: "The king himself (note the masculine pronoun), the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkara. The Majesty of the court made supplication at the steps of the Lord of Gods; a command was heard from the great throne, an oracle of the god himself, that the ways to Punt should be searched out, that the highways to the Myrrh-terraces should be penetrated: 'I will lead the army on water and on land, to bring marvels from God's Land for this god, for the fashioner of her beauty'."

Accordingly, on the receipt of this command to do what she had already made up her mind to do, Hatshepsut prepared a squadron for the voyage south. Five ships were equipped, and provided with an armed guard of Egyptian troops, under the command of one of the queen's officials named Nehesi; and in the wonderful series of reliefs in which the great adventure is illustrated, we see them

making a start, three of them already under sail, the other two waiting for the command to cast off. "Sailing in the sea," the inscription runs, "beginning the goodly way towards God's Land, journeying in peace to the land of Punt, by the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, according to the command of the Lord of Gods, Amen, Lord of Thebes, Presider over Karnak, in order to bring for him the marvels of every country, because he so much loves the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkara, for his father Amen-Ra, Lord of Heaven, Lord of Earth, more than the other kings who have been in this land forever".

The fact that the same ships are shown both on the Nile and in the Red Sea, and that no transhipment of cargo is illustrated, suggests that the ships sailed northwards down the Nile from Thebes, and reached the Red Sea by means of a canal leading from the eastern Delta through the Wady Tumilat; but on this point there can be no certainty. In any case, the expedition duly reached its destination, probably after no very extravagant interval of time; for Punt appears to have been no further off than the foot of the Red Sea, being, in all likelihood, the country in the neighbourhood of Cape Guardafui. The King's Messenger, Nehesi, lands at the head of his guard, and piles in a heap the various articles, ostensibly offered to Hathor, really meant for trade with the Puntites, with which he had been provided. They are much of the same class with those which African explorers of our own time have been accustomed to offer to the native chiefs with whom they dealt—hatchets, necklaces, daggers, and so forth—and probably bore much the same relative value to the goods which the expedition hoped to carry away in exchange for them.

The Puntites, who dwell in beehive-shaped houses perched on poles, come down in friendly guise to trade with the new-comers. They are headed by their chief Parihu, a presentable figure, who wears the turned-up beard of the divine type already referred to. Behind him come his wife, Aty, and three children, two sons and a daughter, followed by three Puntites driving the ass which has just been

relieved of the onerous duty of carrying the chieftainess. In the portrayal of this lady, the Egyptian artist has given a free hand to his sense of humour, and has produced what we can only regard as the first caricature. The lady Aty doubtless conformed to African ideas of feminine beauty rather than to ours; but we can scarcely believe that she was quite so hideous, or so smothered in rolls of fat, as the artist makes her out to have been. The inscription before the Puntites runs thus: "The coming of the chiefs of Punt, doing obeisance, with bowed head, to receive the army of the king; they give praise to the Lord of Gods, Amen-Ra — They say, as they pray for peace: 'Why have ye come hither unto this land, which the people know not? Did ye come down upon the ways of heaven, or did ye sail upon the waters upon the sea of God's Land? Have ye trodden the path of Ra? Lo, as for the King of Egypt, is there no way to His Majesty, that we may live by the breath which He gives?'"

The tent of the explorers is next seen pitched, and trading goes on briskly; the products offered by the Puntites in exchange for the Egyptian trade goods being, of course, labelled, "tribute of the chief of Punt". Two vessels are next seen, heavily laden, and carrying a deck-cargo of myrrh-trees, sacks of the precious gum, ivory, ebony, and apes; the inscription reading thus: "The loading of the ships very heavily with marvels of the country of Punt; all goodly fragrant woods of God's Land, heaps of myrrh-gum, with living myrrh-trees, with ebony and pure ivory, with green gold of Emu, with cinnamon-wood, with *Khesyt*-wood, with *ihmut* incense, *sonter* incense, eye-paint, with apes, monkeys, dogs, and with skins of the southern panther, with natives and their children. Never was brought the like of this for any king who has been since the beginning."

With canny economy of effort, the artist, having given us samples of the loading of the ships, confines his representation of the return voyage to a picture of the other three ships sailing on their homeward journey, beneath the label: "Sailing, arriving in peace, journeying to Thebes with joy of heart, by the army of the Lord of the Two

Lands, with the chiefs of this country (Punt) behind them. They have brought that, the like of which was not brought for other kings, being marvels of Punt, because of the greatness of the fame of this revered god, Amen-Ra, Lord of Thebes." Then follows the presentation of the "tribute" to the queen by four lines of kneeling chiefs, who must have been sadly cramped and stiff after their long endurance of tight packing in the little Egyptian galleys. Queen Hatshepsut next offers the gifts to Amen: "The King Himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkara; presentation of the marvels of Punt, the treasures of God's Land, together with the impost of the wretched Kush——" Each article is carefully ticketed. "Thirty-one living myrrh trees, brought as marvels of Punt for the Majesty of this God, Amen, Lord of Thebes; never was seen the like since the beginning. Electrum; eye-paint; throw-sticks of the Puntites; ebony; ivory; shells; a southern panther alive, captured for Her Majesty in the south countries (how did they manage to carry him on the crowded ship?). Electrum; many panther skins; three thousand three hundred small cattle."

The offerings are next weighed and measured, and we are once more assured that "never did the like happen unto any gods who were before, since the beginning"; while the god Thoth records the totals—"recording in writing, reckoning the numbers, summing up in millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, and hundreds; reception of the marvels of Punt, for Amen-Ra, Lord of Thebes, Lord of Heaven". The record at the huge balances is being kept by Sefkhet, the goddess of letters, and is described in almost the same words. The description of Hatshepsut herself, who is present in person at the ceremony, is, however, touched with a somewhat less prosaic feeling than the rest, and seems to show that, as we have seen on a former occasion, "His Majesty herself" was not altogether exempt from the weaknesses of her sex, and indeed rather fancied her personal appearance: "His Majesty herself is acting with her two hands, the best of myrrh is upon all her limbs, her fragrance is divine dew, her odour is mingled with that of Punt, her skin is gilded with elec-

trum, shining as do the stars in the midst of the festival-hall, before the whole land"—lines which were surely worth something to the fortunate scribe who devised them, if they were not due to the queen herself.

Finally, Hatshepsut holds a court reception, at which she makes a speech, intimating the object and the complete success of the expedition, exhorting her subjects to imitate her example of piety, and closing almost, one would imagine, with a sigh of relief: "I have made for him a Punt in his garden at Thebes, just as he commanded me; it is big enough for him to walk about in"—a phrase which seems to take one back to the Book of Genesis and its picture of God walking in the Garden of Eden in the cool of the evening. The reliefs which commemorate this memorable expedition—the earliest and most magnificent publication of any voyage of discovery that the world has ever known—are worthy of the splendid building which they adorn. Sir Flinders Petrie has criticised them as being flat and tame, and lacking in expression; and there can be no doubt that they have not the power and the admirable modelling and use of anatomical knowledge which mark the best relief work of the Old Kingdom artists; but viewed as a whole, and considered as parts of a general scheme of decoration on a huge scale, they are wonderfully successful, and perhaps more detailed work would have been less effective under the conditions. As for the effect of the complete temple, Petrie's words of praise are an admirable expression of the merits of the great building, which, in spite of the attempt to deprive its architect of any claim to originality, remains and will remain on the whole the most satisfying example of Egyptian architectural skill and taste: "Let any other kind of building be set there, and it would be an impertinent intrusion; the long level lines of the terraces and roofs, the vertical shadows of the colonnades, repose in perfect harmony with the mass of nature around them."

Even as we see it to-day, deprived of so many of the accessories which were designed to complete its beauty, the long avenue of approach, and the great plantations of sacred trees, the mortuary temple of the great queen makes

a profound impression. Mr. Robert Hichens has elaborately described Der el-Bahri as being "like a delicate woman, perfumed and arranged, clothed in a creation of white and blue and orange, standing, ever so knowingly, against a background of orange and pink, of red and brown-red, a smiling coquette of the mountain". Such careful preciousness in such a case totally misses its mark, and what it suggests is not the masterful and strong-willed Egyptian queen, but a Parisian mannequin, flaunting meretricious charms before a back-cloth adorned with painted rocks; but Mr. Hichens is not wrong in ascribing a note of femininity to the restrained and almost austere beauty of the great temple. Senmut designed it; but surely it was a woman's inspiration which he wrought out in stone and lime.

While the temple was building, the queen's tomb, to which the temple was meant only to be an adjunct, was being excavated behind the great wall of cliffs, on the eastern side of the Valley of the Kings. It was intended that its actual burial-chamber should lie directly underneath the sanctuary of the mortuary temple on the other side of the wall of rock, so that, like Browning's bishop in St. Praxed's Church, she might

... lie through centuries,

And feel the steady candle flame, and taste
Good strong thick stupefying incense-smoke,

while the funerary services were being performed for her spirit in Amen's great chapel more than three hundred feet overhead. As the excavation went on, however, unsound rock was met with, which rendered the walls of the tunnel unsuitable for decoration, and the workmen were obliged to turn away to the right, in order to find more suitable material. The tomb, as it was finally left, extends for about 700 feet in length, and descends over three hundred feet from its entrance; but the work was never actually finished, and the long corridors and chambers are left without decoration, saving that the burial chamber itself was lined with limestone slabs, inscribed with religious formulas for the benefit of the queen's soul.

The former tomb, which Hatshepsut had excavated in the cliff face of a deep ravine, was now abandoned, and its fine sarcophagus left to await the coming of Dr. Howard Carter in 1916. Meanwhile, the queen disinterred her father, Thothmes I., for whom she seems to have cherished a deep regard (how much inspired by policy it would be unkind to ask), and brought his mummy to be laid in a new sarcophagus in the burial-chamber of her own tomb, side by side with the sarcophagus in which her own body was to be laid when the time came. The access of panic terror over the tomb-robberies of the later Empire caused the priests to remove the mummies from both coffins, and to add them to the company of royalties which was being gathered in the unfinished tomb of Queen Astemkheb at Der el-Bahri, and there we may presume the great queen rested undisturbed for more than two and a half milleniums, not so very far, after all, from the temple which had once been her pride. When Emil Brugsch removed the royal mummies from the cache in 1881, Thothmes I. was duly identified; but the mummy of his daughter was never traced, though it may be any one of several unidentified female mummies in the strange collection. At present no one can say "This was Queen Hatshepsut"; and perhaps she herself would rather have had it so than that she should be left a gazing-stock and a show, as was the case, till recently, with some of the greatest monarchs of Egyptian history.

Her huge tomb was still open in the time of Strabo (24 B.C.), and was partially opened by Napoleon's expedition in 1799 and by Lepsius in 1844, but in neither case with any knowledge as to whose tomb it was. Finally, in 1903, Mr. T. M. Davis, the American excavator, undertook the clearance of the long corridors and chambers, which were completely blocked with rubbish. The work was carried out for Mr. Davis by Mr. Howard Carter, whose brilliant work at the tomb of Tutankhamen is the thing which has made his name a familiar one to all the world, but who had done a vast amount of first-class work in the interests of Egyptology long before the great find of 1922. The task of clearance was both tedious and dangerous; nor can it be

said that the results were in proportion to the expenditure of labour. The tomb had been rifled in ancient days, and next to nothing was left of the precious funerary furniture which doubtless accompanied so great a queen and her famous father. The chief and indeed the only outstanding results of the excavation were the two fine sarcophagi of quartzite sandstone which had once held the bodies of Thothmes I. and his daughter. Hatshepsut might have been better advised had she been content with her all but inaccessible tomb of earlier days; but even that is doubtful, having regard to the persistence and skill of Theban tomb-robbers, both ancient and modern.

The great temple at Der el-Bahri was by no means the only contribution of the great queen to the splendours of Egypt. The work of restoring the ruined shrines of the land, which her father had begun, was diligently carried out by her, and she has left us an inscription at Beni-hasan, at the shrine called by the Greeks *Speos Artemidos*, or the Cave of Artemis (the modern *Stabl Antar*), which tells us of her labours in this respect. After describing some of her works, such as the restoration of the temple at Cusae, and the building of the shrine of Pakht at the spot where the inscription is found, she goes on: "Listen to me, all men!—you folk, as many as there are of you! I have done this according to the design of my heart, and I have not slacked until my purpose has been accomplished. I have restored that which was in ruins, and I have raised up that which had been left (lying) since the Asiatics were in Avaris of the Northland, and the foreign barbarians were in your midst, overthrowing that which had been made, and ruling in ignorance of Ra. Nothing was done according to the divine command, until the time when My Majesty was established upon the throne of Ra, and was put in authority therein—until two sixty-year periods had passed. Then I came like Horwatit (the Hawk-god) flaming with indignation against my enemies, and I removed this insult to the great god."

Expeditions were being made into Sinai, where the products of the mines must have been of importance for the works which the queen was carrying out at home; and

it is interesting to notice that here the names of both Hatshepsut and Thothmes III. are mentioned together upon the miners' inscriptions. But in all other respects the reign seems to have been marked by a period of profound peace, during which Egypt must have gained considerably in wealth and stability. The fact that no overt attempt to overthrow the government was made by the party attached to Thothmes III. would seem to show that a working arrangement had been come to, under which it was agreed that Hatshepsut should rule during her lifetime, subject to the acknowledgment of the rights of Thothmes by his name being coupled with hers on certain important occasions, so that his right of succession should not be prejudiced in the event of the queen's death. It is only if such an arrangement existed that we can understand how Hatshepsut should have allowed the marriage of Thothmes, possibly with her eldest daughter Neferura, and certainly with her younger daughter Merytra Hatshepsut, to take place, as either alliance gave him a much stronger claim to the throne than he possessed in his own right. Altogether it is difficult to see any room in the relations of the two claimants to the throne for that bitter rivalry which is supposed to have existed. Had the hatred and strife been so keen as is imagined, what was to hinder Hatshepsut, in whose hands lay the power for the time, from putting an end to it all once and forever by the quiet removal of Thothmes? Instead of that, she married him to her daughter, possibly to both of them in succession. No doubt Thothmes was kept in the background to a great extent, though not altogether; no doubt also a young man of such strength of character chafed bitterly against the restrictions imposed upon him, and mentally set a black mark against the courtiers who were foremost in the support of Hatshepsut and in relegating him to obscurity. This sense of humiliation is surely amply sufficient to account for the rather paltry but by no means unusual revenge which he took upon the memory of the queen and the fame of her supporters.

The leading members of the queen's party are well known from the tomb records and statuary inscriptions

which they have left behind them, in spite of the spiteful attempt of Thothmes to wipe out their names from history. Officially the most prominent, though our information with regard to him is neither so full nor so interesting as in some other cases, was Hapusenb, who was not only the Prime Minister of Hatshepsut, but also the High-Priest of Amen and "Chief of the prophets of South and North", besides being a holder of several other important appointments. Commanding the resources both of the civil power and of the strongest religious corporation in the kingdom, his adherence to the queen's party must have been of supreme importance. Like others, he was a man of versatile accomplishments, and turned from the cares of civil government, apparently without any diffidence, to the excavation of royal tombs and the making of gorgeous shrines; but his inscriptions, which have mostly suffered badly at the hands of the vengeful Thothmes, do not offer us, in their present state, much that is of interest, though he might have told us a great deal that would be of supreme value.

Of less exalted station, but quite possibly of more real influence, was the man who seems to have been the most trusted servant of the queen, and who certainly carried out the most important works of her reign. This was Senmut, whom we have already seen carrying out the queen's desires at Der el-Bahri, and who, with his brother Senmen, was a chief pillar of the state. The two brothers held between them two positions which must have given them great influence in the inner circle of the palace, for Senmut was tutor to the Princess Neferura, and Senmen held the same office with regard to a princess who is not named on his inscription, but who can only have been Merytra Hatshepsut, the younger sister of Neferura, and the future queen of Thothmes III.

Our information with regard to Senmut, who was obviously the first man of the realm in everything but official rank, is mainly derived from two statues of him, both gifts of his grateful queen, of which the one is in Berlin, and the other, which was discovered by two English ladies, the Misses Benson and Gourlay, during their

excavations at the temple of Mut at Thebes, is now at Cairo. Both of the statues bear statements, differing only slightly in their wording, recording the grace thus bestowed by the queen: "Given as a favour of the King's presence, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkara, who is given life, to the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, steward of Amen, Senmut, justified". A repetition of the statement on the statue at Cairo offers an illustration of the curious difficulties of phrasing presented to the scribes by the fact that their Pharaoh was a woman: "Given as a favour of the King's presence to the hereditary prince, count, steward of Amen, Senmut, justified, steward of *the female Horus*". The Berlin statue has an introduction which has been held to mean that Senmut rose from the ranks, as it has been translated, "whose ancestors were not found in writing"; but it appears that this part of the inscription was added later by some one who admired the great man, and took the opportunity of cutting a few lines over the lines which once bore his name, but had been obliterated by Thothmes III. Probably the added portion should be read thus: "(This is the statue of) Senmut, justified, (whose name) is not to be found among the annals of the ancestors, Great Father-Tutor of the King's daughter, Sovereign of the Two Lands, Divine Consort, Neferura, which I did according to the thought of my heart".

The Berlin statue sums up Senmut's services briefly, in words which incidentally afford another illustration of the trouble which a female Pharaoh caused to the inscription-makers: "He says, 'I was a noble, beloved of his lord, one who entered into the wonderful plans of the Mistress of the Two Lands. He exalted me before the Two Lands, and He appointed me to be chief of His estate throughout the entire land. I was the superior of superiors, the chief of chiefs of works. I was in this land under His command, since the occurrence of the death of His predecessor. I was in life under the Mistress of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkara, who liveth forever'." The Cairo one gives a fuller account of the great man's manifold honours and services: "He says, 'I was the



RELIEF FROM HATSHEPSUT'S TEMPLE. NEHSI AND THE GUARD

greatest of the great in the whole land; one who heard the hearing alone in the privy council, steward of Amen, Senmut, justified. I was the real favourite of the King, acting as one praised of his lord every day, the overseer of the cattle of Amen, Senmut. I was true, not showing partiality; with whose injunctions the Lord of the Two Lands was satisfied; attached to Nekhen, prophet of Maat, Senmut. I was one who entered in love and came forth in favour, making glad the heart of the King every day, the companion and master of the palace, Senmut — I was a foreman of foremen, superior of the great, overseer of all works of the house of silver, conductor of every handicraft, chief of all the prophets of Montu in Hermonthis, Senmut. I was one to whom the affairs of the Two Lands were reported; that which South and North contributed was on my seal, the labour of all countries was under my charge. I was one whose steps were known in the palace; a real confidant of the King, his beloved; overseer of the gardens of Amen, Senmut’.”

It is not necessary to take all this at its face value; but we have sufficient evidence to make it manifest that a good deal of it was simple truth, and that Senmut was by far the most powerful and important figure of the reign. Perhaps the most conclusive evidence of all is that given by the shrine which he made for himself at Silsileh, and in which he is represented as being embraced and welcomed by the gods themselves. This is an honour frequently represented as being accorded to Pharaohs and their queens; but never, save in this one instance, to commoners. Senmut must have been very sure of his position with Hatshepsut before he ventured on a representation of himself which under less favourable conditions might have been regarded as an act of high treason.

The higher such a man climbed in favour, the deeper and the more disastrous was his fall bound to be when the inevitable reaction came with the death of Hatshepsut, and Thothmes III. grasped the sceptre in his strong hand. Senmut evidently fell from power at once, together with his brother Senmen, and all the others who had been Hatshepsut’s main support.

There is no evidence of the fallen nobles being slain; but Thothmes did what, doubtless, he deemed a more deadly thing, in erasing from the tombs which they had made for themselves, and from all records of their deeds that he could find, the names of the men who had helped to keep him in the background, thus destroying, as he believed, their hopes of immortality. Senmut apparently was not without his anticipations of such an end to his glories; for the falling away of the plaster from parts of the wall of his desecrated tomb has revealed the curious fact that he had caused his name to be written secretly in several places on the rock beneath the plaster facing on which it was publicly inscribed, so that even when the king's vengeance had erased the public record, the name would still be there, visible to the eyes of immortal spirits, though unseen of man!

Among other noteworthy supporters of Hatshepsut who shared Senmut's downfall and disgrace after the death of their lady were Menkh, son of our old friend Ineni, whose name was erased from the shrine which he made for himself at Silsileh, though it can still be dimly read; Nehesi, "the Negro", who led the expedition to Punt; Tahuti, who was entrusted with the responsible job of measuring the Punt "tribute", and who, besides, did a vast amount of important work, chiefly, it would appear from his own record, in metal, for the temples, and whose account of it helps one to realise the immense amount of energy, skill, and wealth which was expended by Hatshepsut on public works during her reign. Tahuti, who, like others, was sorely perplexed between masculine and feminine in the pronouns which he had to use for Hatshepsut in his record, fell from grace with the rest, on the accession of Thothmes, and had his name erased. Another of Hatshepsut's architects, however, Puamra, who seems to have specialised in obelisks and ebony shrines, managed to combine with his doubtless many other virtues a devotion to the cult of the jumping cat which saved him from the fate of his brother architect, and we find him erecting obelisks for Thothmes III. as diligently as he had made ebony shrines for Hatshepsut.

Meanwhile, however, the power of the great queen was at its highest, and no shadow of the coming downfall crossed the minds of the many eager and brilliant men who were toiling and giving of their best all over Egypt at her command. As the time drew near for the celebration of the jubilee of her acknowledgment by her father as heiress of the land, she summoned her favourite Senmut into council and sent him off to Aswan to procure two great shafts of granite for the making of two commemorative obelisks which were destined to have a greater share in perpetuating her memory than any other works of her hand, saving only, perhaps, the beautiful temple at Der el-Bahri. The great man set off at once, and carried out his commission with characteristic energy, as the results and the space of time within which they were attained amply show. He has left us a record of his presence engraved on the rocks at Aswan, of which the relevant part runs thus: "Came the hereditary prince, count, who greatly satisfies the heart of the Divine Consort, who pleases the Mistress of the Two Lands by his directions, chief steward of the princess Neferura, who liveth, Senmut, in order to conduct the work of two great obelisks (for the feast) of a 'Myriad-of-Years'. It took place according to that which was commanded; everything was done; it took place because of the fame of Her Majesty."

The work of getting the two huge shafts of granite out of the quarry at Aswan occupied seven months, as Hatshepsut herself informs us in the inscription on the base of the one still standing; and Mr. Engelbach has shown, from actual experiment, that this is quite a reasonable estimate of the time required for such a piece of work. At Der el-Bahri there exists a relief of the greatest interest and value, showing the transport of a pair of obelisks by barge, though whether the pair represented are those now in question, or the other pair which Hatshepsut also set up at Karnak, and which have totally vanished, it is impossible to say. In the relief, the two obelisks lie butt to butt on the deck of a huge barge, which is being towed by three rows of row-boats, nine in a row, each row being headed by a pilot boat; while three boats act as escort, religious services being performed upon their decks to ensure the safe

transport of the precious masses of stone. The much mutilated inscription speaks of the "giving of sycamores from the whole land for the work of building a very great boat", and the "ordering of the whole army before —— in order to load the two obelisks in Elephantine". Then follow a few broken words out of the sentences which once described the voyage: "sailed downstream with gladness of heart —— took the tow-rope, rejoicing —— the marines and the crew —— Jubilee, the Two Lands —— in peace. The King Himself (Hatshepsut), he took the bow-rope". Finally we read: "Landing in peace at 'Victorious Thebes', heaven is in festival, earth is rejoicing; they receive joy of heart when they behold this monument which Maatkara has established for her father Amen."

Further scenes show the reception of the obelisks in Thebes and their dedication. The same picturesqueness of touch which we have so often occasion to notice in the wording of the inscriptions of this reign is conspicuous in the sentences descriptive of the scene in Thebes when the two huge shafts were dragged through the streets to their destination at Karnak: "The rejoicing of the royal marines of the King. They cry, 'Listen to the shouting! Heaven is in festivity, earth rejoices, for Amen has added to the years of his daughter who has made his monuments, upon the Horus-throne of the living, like Ra, forever!' The recruits of the South and North, the young men of Thebes and the youths of Nubia are shouting for the life, prosperity and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperra (Thothmes III.), who giveth life; that their hearts may be glad, like Ra, forever." It is worth noticing in passing that here, even in connection with the erection of a monument so purely personal as her own jubilee memorial, the name of Thothmes is mentioned as king. The public acknowledgment of the position of Thothmes is also made in the stele inscription, now at the Vatican, in which Hatshepsut records her building of a fortress to guard the necropolis of Thebes. While the inscription itself only mentions the queen as agent in the work, the relief above it shows her worshipping Amen, with Thothmes standing behind her. The situation thus depicted is probably typical

of the relations existing between the two sovereigns at this time, but is by no means suggestive of the virulent hatred between the two in which we are asked to believe.

The erection of the two splendid shafts of granite must have been a tremendous task, and one which taxed to the utmost the engineering skill of Senmut and his helpers. The height of the survivor of the two is $97\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and its diameter at the base $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet, while its weight is computed to be 323 tons; and it is to be presumed that the two shafts were, as nearly as might be, a pair. Thus the problem of erection involved the handling of weights of a high order of magnitude; for though the Egyptians of later days erected colossal statues whose weight was from twice to three times as great as this, the great blocks of the colossi cannot have been so delicate to handle as the long slender shafts of the obelisks, which must have needed very careful support so long as they were out of the vertical, if they were not to break with their own weight. The Lateran obelisk at Rome, which was the work of Thothmes III., is the only existing one which excels Hatshepsut's in size, and consequently in difficulty of handling, being 105 feet in height, and weighing 455 tons; though we have information as to still taller shafts, and the great Aswan obelisk, abandoned in the quarry because of flaws which showed themselves in the stone as work upon it proceeded, was designed for a height of 137 feet, and would have weighed about 1168 tons!

Consequently, Senmut had before him one of the most difficult tasks which up to his time had ever confronted an Egyptian engineer, accustomed as his countrymen had been from time immemorial to deal with weights which would appal most engineers of to-day. That he solved it so successfully, only coming a little short of complete triumph, is calculated to impress us with the sense of the marvellous organisation which enabled the queen's architect, dealing for the first time with weights on such a scale, to set up one obelisk of the pair so securely that it has stood now for over three thousand years, while the fall of the other may well have been due to a piece of Assyrian spite when Thebes was sacked by Ashurbanipal in 661 B.C. Mr. Engelbach has succeeded in showing the extreme simplicity of the means

by which, in all probability, the Egyptian engineers succeeded with regularity in accomplishing such tasks, which would tax and have taxed the ingenuity and resource of the best engineering skill of our own time, working with all the appliances of modern science at its disposal; and the reader must be referred to his most interesting book, *The Problem of the Obelisks*, for a description of their probable methods. It is sufficient to say that the obelisk, having been drawn on a horizontal sledge to the top of a sloping ramp of suitable height, where its butt was immediately above the mouth of a cone-shaped funnel filled with sand, was gradually allowed to sink, butt downwards, upon its already prepared base by the withdrawal of the sand in the funnel through lateral galleries. A notch was prepared beforehand along one side of the base-block, so that the under edge of the tilted shaft would engage in it as the obelisk descended, and ensure its steadiness while it was being pulled upright. It was here that Senmut just came short of complete success with the surviving obelisk. The under edge of the great shaft just missed the notch, and the obelisk came down upon its base not absolutely square—that is to say, the four edges of its base are not absolutely parallel with the corresponding four edges of the base-block on which it stands. The slight error did not militate in the least against its stability, as time has shown; but one can believe that it was a very sore point with poor Senmut, who would never be able to pass the shaft without imagining that everybody was seeing the defect in its placing as about ten times greater than it actually was. Probably, also, his brother architects, Tahuti, Puamra, and the rest of them, especially the young upstart, Menkheperra-senb, who was of the party of Thothmes III., never lost an opportunity of rubbing in that slight slip, and chaffing the great man about it—if it was safe to chaff Senmut, which is perhaps doubtful. Most people who admire and wonder at the beautiful memorial of Queen Hatshepsut's jubilee never dream of the fault in the placing of it, or the sore heart it caused the great man who was responsible for it.

The situation which the queen had chosen for her memorials seems to us a most extraordinary one. It was in

the middle of the great hall of cedar columns which her father had erected between pylons IV. and V. of the Amen temple at Karnak. This must have involved the temporary dismantlement and unroofing of a considerable part of the great hall, as the new obelisks reared their pyramidions high above the roof of the hall. It has been supposed, therefore, that Hatshepsut must have had a grudge against her father, as well as against Thothmes II. and Thothmes III., and that this choosing of so curious a situation was the gratifying of a piece of feminine spite. We know, however, too little of what was actually done in the matter, and what Hatshepsut meant to be the final effect of her move, to be able to judge her in this case; and the suggestion is on other accounts highly improbable. It is not doubtful that Hatshepsut was not on the best of terms with Thothmes II. and III.; but her affection and reverence for her father are equally unquestionable, and it would seem more natural to seek the reason for her action in some scheme of reconstruction of her father's hall which she had in mind, and which, however bizarre its conception may seem to us in the imperfect condition of our knowledge, may have been meant as an honour to the dead king rather than as the reverse. We know that already, even before his death, the cedar columns of the hall had begun to decay, so that Thothmes I. was obliged to replace the northernmost two of them by stone columns, and Thothmes III. tells us that he was obliged to continue this work of replacement of the cedar columns by stone ones. It seems more than likely, therefore, that the object which Hatshepsut had in mind was not desecration, but reconstruction; though we are not in a position to say what were her plans, which were obviously never completed.

The inscriptions on the obelisk are of great interest. The central lines on each of the sides of the shaft, which are all those for which the queen is responsible, are almost entirely formal, with the exception of a part of that on the east side, which says: "Her Majesty made the name of her father established upon this monument, and abiding, when favour was shown to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Aakheperkara

(Thothmes I.) by the majesty of this god (Amen), when the two great obelisks were erected by Her Majesty on the first occurrence (of the jubilee); the Lord of the Gods said: 'Thy father, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, gave command to erect obelisks and Thy Majesty will repeat the monuments, in order that thou mayest live forever'." It is quite evident that Queen Hatshepsut conceived of herself as carrying on the tradition which her father had created, and it is quite impossible to imagine that when she made such particular reference to the piety of her father she was engaged on a deliberate attempt to destroy his work.

The base inscriptions, however, are of more importance, chiefly because they again strike that personal note which is so seldom heard from these ancient records, and give us an actual glimpse into the mind and heart of a great woman. I do not think that it is fanciful to see in these utterances the expression of something very like a genuine piety struggling to find expression underneath all the customary verbiage of the Egyptian monumental formulae. After the usual recitation of the titulary and encomium of the queen, she goes on: "I have done this from a loving heart for my father Amen; I have entered into his scheme for this first jubilee; I was wise by his excellent spirit, and I forgot nothing of that which he exacted. My Majesty knows that he is divine." And then, in language which might have come straight out of the Book of Psalms, though it belongs to an age centuries before the first of the Psalms was written, she continues:

I did it under his command; it was he who led me.

I conceived no works without his doing; it was he who gave me directions.

I slept not because of his temple; I erred not from that which he commanded.

My heart was wise before my father; I entered into the affairs of his heart.

I turned not my back on the City of the All-Lord; but turned to it the face.

I know that Karnak is God's dwelling upon earth; the August Ascent of the Beginning;

The Sacred Eye of the All-Lord; the Place of his Heart;

Which wears his beauty, and encompasses those who follow him.

The sleepless eagerness of the queen for the glory of the temple of her god, and her assurance of the unspeakable sanctity of Karnak as the divine dwelling-place, find expression almost in the very words which the Psalmist used to express his sense of duty towards the habitation of the God of Israel, and his certainty of Zion's sanctity as the abiding-place of Jehovah: "Surely I will not come into the tabernacle of my house, nor go up into my bed; I will not give sleep to mine eyes, or slumber to mine eyelids. Until I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob — For the Lord hath chosen Zion; he hath desired it for his habitation. This is my rest for ever; here will I dwell; for I have desired it." I do not understand on what consideration we feel ourselves entitled to discriminate between these two pieties, and to call the later one inspired, while we deny that title to the earlier, and treat it as mere formality or pagan zeal at the best. Surely Hatshepsut, as well as the Psalmist, was feeling after the God who is not far from anyone of us, by whatever name she might call him.

The same unmistakable note rings out again a little later: "I was sitting in my palace, I was remembering my Creator, when my heart led me to make for him two obelisks of electrum, whose points mingled with heaven, in the august colonnade between the two great pylons of the King, the Mighty Bull, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara (Thothmes I.), the deceased Horus." It is true that the queen, like every other human being, sometimes discerns the greatest, only to choose the smallest, and that she almost immediately descends from this height of spiritual exaltation to the prosaic business of assuring posterity that there is no mistake about the matter, and that the obelisks are each of them all of one single stone; but this lapse into commonplace only makes her more real to us.

"O ye people", she says, "who shall see my monument, in after years, those who shall speak of that which I have made, beware lest ye say, 'I know not, I know not, why this was done—a monument fashioned entirely from gold as if it were an everyday occurrence' (this refers to the

overlaying of the obelisks with silver-gold alloy). I swear, as Ra loves me, as my father Amen favours me, as my nostrils are filled with life —— (and so on through a lengthy oath) so surely these two great obelisks, which My Majesty hath wrought with electrum for my father Amen, that my name may abide in this temple eternally, are of one block of enduring granite without seam or joining. My Majesty exacted work on them from the year 15 the first of the sixth month, until the year 16 the last of the twelfth month, making seven months of exaction in the quarry.” She then goes on to tell us how she measured out gold-silver alloy for the overlaying of the shafts by the *heket* (just over a gallon measure), “like sacks of grain”. “In quantity, My Majesty gave more than all Egypt had ever seen. The ignorant, like the wise, knoweth it. Let not him who shall hear this say that what I have said is a lie, but rather let him say: ‘How like her it is! She was truthful in the sight of her father’.”

“The God knew it in me”, so she concludes, “Amen-Ra, Lord of Thebes. He caused that I should reign over the Black and the Red Land as a reward therefor. I have no enemy in any land; all countries are my subjects. He has made my boundary to the end of heaven; the circuit of the Sun has laboured for me. God has given it to me who dwell with him, for he knew that I would offer it to him. I am in truth his daughter who glorifies him —— Life, Stability, and Satisfaction be upon the Horus-Throne of Her who lives, like Ra, eternally!”

The prayer of her inscription was destined to be fulfilled only in a very limited sense, though peace and prosperity seem to have followed the queen to the end of her days. We know that she continued to reign until some time between her twentieth and twenty-first year, as she was still carrying on work in Sinai until her twentieth year. She was by no means an old woman at that date, not much past middle age, and she might well have looked forward to a considerable period of power and glory before the time came for her to travel to the west. But life has to be reckoned not by years, but by the expenditure of energy which the years have exacted; and in her anomalous and

difficult position one can believe that the strain of ruling, with a grudging heir ever at her elbow, must have been extreme. By the end of her twenty-first year, Thothmes III. was reigning alone, so that the change of ruler must have taken place during the interval. There is no need to suppose that she was either murdered or deposed by her successor. Thothmes III. did not love his masterful relative who had kept him chafing in the background; but though he was, curiously enough, capable of the petty spite of hammering out her name and image wherever it was to be found, there is no reason to suppose that he was capable of murder. Quite the contrary, in fact, as we shall see when we come to deal with his treatment of his enemies. The chances are that the actual fact is simply that the queen had used up her strength and died, not old in years, but worn-out with a task which most men would find exhausting. Her reign, though it is not outstanding in respect of any assertion of Egypt's will to power, seems to have been markedly important as consolidating the internal strength of the nation. Whatever Thothmes III. might think of his predecessor and her pacific policy, and whatever we may think of the use which he made of the resources which she had left to him, there can be no doubt that it was the twenty years of pacific growth that had been Hatshepsut's gift to her land which enabled Egypt to stand the strain of the seventeen campaigns of the great soldier Pharaoh.

CHAPTER XXIV

THOTHMES III. AND THE CONQUEST OF ASIA

WHAT exactly was the course of events immediately after the death of Hatshepsut, we are not in a position to say. Obviously, there was some kind of a "putting down of the mighty from their seats"—those mighty, such as Senmut and Senmen, Hapusenb, Nehesi, and others who had been the leaders of the queen's party in the state; but whether this fall of the leading statesmen of Hatshepsut's reign was the result of any struggle for power is doubtful. On the strength of a mutilated sentence in the Annals of Thothmes—"Now . . . that period . . . disagreement . . . each man against"—one historian has built up quite an interesting picture of an outbreak of civil war, in which the minions of Queen Hatshepsut fought to destroy Thothmes, and to secure their own position in the state. "Senmut's ambitions had carried him to such a height that very possibly he contemplated a *coup* by which he would get rid of the king, marry Nofrure, and seize the throne himself." This, however, is "being wise above what is written", and a few broken words, which are interpreted quite otherwise by the best authorities, are too slight a foundation on which to base such a structure. It is probable enough that there was, naturally, some ferment and a short uncertainty as to how things would go, when so dominant a personality as that of Hatshepsut disappeared from the scene, and her place was taken by one even more masterful; but there is no other evidence for any civil strife, and the fact that the king was able to take the field almost at once on hearing of the revolt of the northern provinces shows that whatever disturbance there may have been can have been

little more than the usual and normal disquiet of the east, when power, long exercised by one strong hand, passes to another whose strength has not yet been proved. Senmut and his companions were less wise than one imagines them if they did not perfectly well understand how completely their power depended upon the life of the queen; and however little Thothmes may have been allowed to exercise his great powers during the reign of Hatshepsut, he can scarcely have concealed his qualities so completely from them as to permit them to suppose that they would have any chance of suppressing him once his claim to the throne was really the only possible one, apart from a dynastic change.

It was some time before the vengeance of the new king upon the memory of his predecessor and her supporters began to mature. Hatshepsut had been too great a monarch, too successful in her enterprises, and, with her peaceful record, probably too well beloved by the bulk of the people, to make the dishonouring of her memory safe for a time—at least until the king had fairly established himself and given his proofs of capacity and determination. This reason is amply sufficient to account for the fact that honour appears to have been paid by Thothmes himself to the dead queen, and that in the sculptured scenes which have been found among the ruins of her funerary chapel at Thebes the king is shown conducting an Osirian figure of Hatshepsut across the Nile to the western necropolis. Decency, to say nothing of other things, required some such concessions to popular opinion in these early days, when Thothmes was still unsure of the ground on which he stood; he will not have been the only heir who has shown surface honour to a relative upon whose estate he was entering but whose memory he detested.

The time soon came when Thothmes was sufficiently sure of his position to be able to show his real feelings. They were not such as to do a great man any honour. To our minds it seems a pitifully small thing that a man of the calibre of the great conqueror should descend to such petty spite as to sheath his predecessor's splendid obelisks in masonry lest future generations should attribute the

glory of them to her who deserved it, that he should hack out her name and figure wherever he could find them in relief or inscription, and that he should extend his venomous persecution of the fame of the queen's supporters to the obliteration of their names and figures also. It has to be admitted that he had a good many years of obscurity, and probably a good many humiliations, or what seemed such to his high spirit, to avenge, and that, had he been a smaller man, his vengeance might have passed unnoticed. But Thothmes was a great man, one of the very greatest in the long history of his nation; and one grudges the miserable fact that he should have soiled his fame with his own hands by this wretched exhibition of littleness. Having said so much, we can thankfully be done with the business. His spite utterly missed its mark in the end; we are glad of that, and can do him the credit of believing that he is glad also, seeing things more clearly than he once did.

Strife or no strife within his own borders, Thothmes was soon firmly seated on the throne, and the great men of Hatshepsut's reign disappear at once from the stage, with a few exceptions, such as Puamra, the obelisk expert, who seems to have succeeded in turning his coat with sufficient alacrity to secure his employment under the new regime. The new king had his own circle of mighty men, some of whom were destined to almost legendary fame as the Paladins of the great soldier king. They were soon to be put to the test.

One of the usual concomitants of a change of ruler in the East is a revolt, of greater or less extent, on the part of the more distant provinces of the kingdom, or its more ambitious vassals. It is the recognised method of taking the temperature of the new ruler, so to speak. Should the situation be weakly handled, it offers quite satisfactory possibilities to the rebels; should it, on the other hand, be promptly and sternly dealt with, there is usually an equally prompt scurry to send in submission and to promise that the offenders will "never do it again". The new situation offered by the death of Hatshepsut was obviously too tempting for the Syrian kinglets to let it slip without exploring its possibilities. They had sat quiet for practically

twenty years under the peaceful rule of a woman Pharaoh, being mindful of the long arm and hard hand of her father; but no one could reasonably expect them to sit still any longer, when a new and unproven overlord was sitting on a throne whose stability had not been tried. One figures the restless Syrian tribes as "spoiling for a fight", and quite glad to find that events in Egypt had given them the chance of one.

But there was more than this in the situation. The subsequent course of events, and the enemies whom the Egyptians met in the field, show that there was a concerted and determined effort to shake off the Egyptian yoke, and that what Thothmes was faced with was not merely the customary series of disunited and ill-timed explosions whose resultant fires could easily be quenched in detail, but an organised plot against Egyptian supremacy, in which the tribes of north Syria were banded together and acted for once as a unit, under the controlling influence of one who must have been no unworthy opponent even of the great Egyptian soldier, to judge from the persistence with which he faced the sledge-hammer blows of the Pharaoh, even though beaten to his knees again and again. This was the king of Kadesh on the Orontes, a city which was sufficiently distant from Egypt to give its inhabitants a certain lightness of heart in challenging the imperial power, while its king was possessed, at all events, of tenacity, though his military capacity does not shine by comparison with that of his famous opponent. In the background, also, was the influence and support of the curious exotic kingdom of Mitanni. Mitanni is the name which belongs to the kingdom which was established, probably somewhere about 2000 B.C., in the land eastward of and within the great bend of the Euphrates, by one branch of the invading Aryans who through another branch secured about the same time the domination over Babylonia as the Kassite Dynasty. The kingdom was entirely an artificial creation, and answered to no physical or racial facts. It was simply a land where a dominant race of horse-riding Aryan aristocrats held control over a subject race or races; and in due course it was crushed out by other kingdoms

which had more reason in nature to show for their existence. But at this period it was a power to be reckoned with even by Egypt, and it completely overshadowed, for the time, the growing power of Assyria; to such an extent, indeed, that one of its kings, Shaushshatar, carried away from Ashur, the Assyrian chief city, a great gate of gold and silver which he re-erected as a trophy in his own capital, Washshukkani. With Mitanni, Egypt was destined to have relations which grew closer and closer as time went on, and were fated to prove disastrous in the end; but meantime it was not the friendship, but the enmity of the Asiatic kingdom, which was in question. Mitanni was quite obviously backing the league which was being formed to resist the claims of Egypt to overlordship in the Asiatic provinces which Thothmes I. had conquered a generation ago.

With such formidable backers as Kadesh and Mitanni, we need not wonder that the customary revolt assumed somewhat unusual proportions. "Behold," say the Annals, "from Yeraza to the marshes of the earth (*i.e.* from northern Judea to the Euphrates), they had begun to revolt against His Majesty." Southern Palestine apparently felt itself too near to the lion's den to venture upon any tail-twisting exploits; but the more distant provinces were unanimous in wishing for a fight. Probably they wished that they had not asked for it before Thothmes was done with them. There was nothing which could have suited his book better than this revolt, which at once provided him with a specious excuse for doing the very thing which he must have often been longing to do during all the long years when he was kept in the background by Hatshepsut. If the Syrians were spoiling for a fight, they were not more so than the Egyptian army, which must have been kept by Hatshepsut in a high state of efficiency (the facts of the first campaign of Thothmes unmistakably prove this), but which had never been allowed by the queen to prove itself upon the field of battle.

It was doubtless with a joyful heart that Thothmes, now in the very meridian of his manhood, marched out from the Egyptian frontier fortress of Tharu, in "the return of



KARNAK FROM THE AIR
By permission of Sir Alan Cobham

the year, when kings go out to battle"—say some time in April of 1479, or perhaps 1482. He was eager to get into touch with his enemy, and to prove the tempered weapon which he had never yet tried in earnest; and seemingly the army was as eager as its chief. At all events, to cover the 160 miles of desert marching from Tharu to Gaza in nine days, as he did, was proof positive both of the keenness of the king and of the marching qualities of his infantry, who must have been in the very pink of condition to accomplish such a feat. He reached Gaza on the anniversary of his coronation, and showed how much importance he attached to times and seasons by promptly marching out of the town again next morning. So far he had been marching through country which, if not overpoweringly friendly, was yet too conscious of its own interests to be hostile. He was now about to approach territory where he might look for growing hostility the farther north he advanced. Accordingly his rate of progress slackened, and the troops were led northwards at a rate which admitted of scouting precautions being taken. Ten days were taken to cover the eighty miles from Gaza to Yehem, a town somewhere on the southern slope of the long Carmel ridge. Here he camped, and on receipt of information gathered by his scouts as to what lay beyond the ridge, he called his first and, so far as we know, his last Council of War.

His information rendered it certain that things were turning out just as he might have wished, and that, instead of having to hunt his enemy painfully down through north Syria, he was going to be presented with the chance of settling the issue of the campaign by a single stroke, to be delivered within a few miles of where he stood. One may surmise that the King of Kadesh, who was in command of the motley army of the Syrian League, held the perfectly sound military maxim that the worst possible place in which to make war is in one's own country, and had no wish to see the Orontes Valley overrun by Egyptian troops even on the chance of wearying them out before the decisive battle. Accordingly he had marched southwards, gathering up as he went all the contingents of the various rebel tribes, and had chosen a position on which to

challenge the advance of the Egyptian Pharaoh. He based himself on the strong fortress-town of Megiddo, on the northern side of the Carmel ridge; and thus the two armies confronted each other at a few miles distance, with only the screen of the ridge separating them.

Thothmes, whose soldiership at this juncture contrasts very strikingly and favourably with the blundering incompetence of Ramses II. before the battle of Kadesh, was perfectly well aware of the position of his adversary. What he called the council for was to consult his officers as to the best way of bringing his troops into touch with the enemy whom he meant to destroy. He was a raw soldier himself, and is not to be blamed for his wish to have the advice of soldiers who may have had more experience of manœuvring troops than himself, though of course none of his officers, in all likelihood, had ever seen a stricken field any more than he had. This defect was soon to be corrected. The hesitation of Thothmes was caused by the fact that he had a choice of three roads for his advance upon Megiddo. One road, rather a bridle path than a road, led straight across the ridge to the town; one led round by the north-west—the Zefiti road, as it was called, and debouched on the north-west side of Megiddo; the third went south-eastwards round Taanach, and then led north-westwards again when it had crossed the ridge, arriving at Megiddo on its south-east side.

Thothmes at once put his information before the Council of War, and though the last sentence of his speech to them is mutilated, it is obvious that he concluded by asking their opinion as to which of the three roads he should march by. "Councils of War never fight", says the proverb; and the advice of the officers of Thothmes was in accordance with this axiom. "They spoke in the presence of His Majesty, 'How should we go by this road, which is narrow and risky? Our scouts come and tell us that the enemy is waiting there for us, ready to hold the way against any multitude. (If we take this road) will not horse have to come behind horse and man behind man likewise (single-file)? Shall our vanguard be fighting, while our rear-guard is yet halted over yonder in Aaruna, and cannot get into

action? There are yet two other roads. One, behold, it will suit us, for it comes out at Taanach; the other, behold, it will bring us northwards by way of Zefti, so that we shall come out to the north of Megiddo. Let our victorious lord march by the road he chooses; but let him not oblige us to go by this difficult road.' ”

The advice was perfectly sensible from the point of view of the prudent commonplace commander; but the most essential characteristic of the great general is that he should be able to see and to take into consideration circumstances and conditions of which the common man has no vision, and whose importance he cannot estimate. Of these, the one which weighed most with Thothmes in making his decision was the immaterial but vitally important one of prestige. For the first time, after the lapse of a whole generation, the Egyptian banner was going to advance against a Syrian army ranked in battle array; for the first time Egypt's new Pharaoh was about to show whether or not he had the military instinct and the courage which had characterised his great forerunners. Not only Syria but the whole eastern world would be looking on to see how Egypt and her new monarch would face the situation. Boldness at this moment might mean not only immediate victory, but an impression made upon the mind of the eastern world which would not fade away for many years; while timidity, even if ultimately successful, might complicate the problem which lay ahead, and encourage every potential rebel in his rebellion. There were, no doubt, other considerations urging in the same direction, such as the possibility of effecting a surprise—a possibility which actually took shape; but the main stress, in the mind of one who was both soldier and statesman, lay upon the question of prestige.

This is shown beyond doubt by the blunt answer of Thothmes to the advice of his officers: “I swear, as Ra loves me . . . that My Majesty will proceed upon this road of Aaruna. Let him who will among you go upon those roads ye have mentioned, and let him who will among you come in the following of My Majesty. Shall they think, among those enemies whom Ra detests: ‘Does His Majesty

proceed upon another road? He begins to be frightened of us', so will they think." After such a pronouncement there was nothing left for the members of the council but prompt acquiescence, and this they immediately gave. The king swore that he himself would lead the army through the pass, and did so at once. "He went forth at the head of his army himself, showing the way by his own footsteps; horse behind horse, His Majesty being at the head of his army."

The result showed the value of obedience to that other classic military axiom, that you should never do what the enemy expects you to do. The Asiatics had expected Thothmes to do exactly what his officers advised him to do, and had therefore extended their lines southwards towards Taanach, to command what appeared to them to be the natural approach of the Egyptian army. By approaching through the direct pass, Thothmes disarranged all their plans, and secured a peaceful passage for his whole army. When he had led the vanguard through the pass, and the Egyptian regiments were beginning to debouch upon the plain, the king halted at the request of his officers, and watched his troops defiling from the mouth of the pass, taking up a position where he could protect the rear against any surprise attack. None was made, however, and shortly after midday the passage of the ridge was completed by the army—the first recorded passage of the famous pass through which Allenby pushed his cavalry in 1918 to cut off the retreat of the routed Turkish army. "Behold, when the front had reached the exit upon this road, the shadow had turned, and when His Majesty arrived at the south of Megiddo, on the bank of the brook Kina, the seventh hour was turning, measured by the sun."

Thothmes, having thus secured an advantageous position from which he could force battle upon his enemies if they wished to defend Megiddo, made the most of it by his dispositions, extending the left wing of his army towards the north-west of Megiddo, so as to cut off the flight of the enemy northward. He had got the mouse into the mouse-trap, and could now afford to wait and to rest his troops before consummating his success.

Camp was accordingly pitched, the afternoon meal was issued to the soldiers, and a general order was given out, intimating that battle would be joined next morning. "Equip yourselves! Prepare your weapons! for we shall advance to fight with that wretched foe in the morning." Again the calm confidence and order with which the preparations of Thothmes were made stand in forcible contrast with the hustle and muddle which marked the advance of Ramses II. on Kadesh in circumstances almost exactly similar.

Next morning saw both armies ranked in battle array at an early hour. The spectacle must have been a brilliant one, in spite of the smallness of the hosts engaged, according to our ideas. Thothmes himself, at the head of his chariot brigade, glittered in gold and silver; "His Majesty went forth in a chariot of electrum, arrayed in his weapons of war, like Horus the Smiter, Lord of power"; and we may be sure that his great nobles and captains were not far behind him in magnificence. Nor was there any lack of splendour in the opposing lines. The taste of the Egyptians, simpler and more refined than that of the Semites, was wont to deride the gorgeous and heavy woollen garments and the overloaded equipment of the Asiatics as barbaric, and perhaps our own inclination is to agree with them in their condemnation of Semitic gaudiness; but this simply means that two different conceptions of civilisation were at issue, not that the Semites were uncivilised. There were plenty of chariots of gold and silver, and an abundance of magnificent suits of bronze armour, inlaid with the precious metals, in the Asiatic as well as in the Egyptian ranks. The Syrians had drawn in their left wing from the Taanach road, too late to interfere with the deployment of the Egyptian army, but in time to face the Egyptian right wing; and the two armies now faced one another in identical dispositions, each force being divided into three—a main battle in the centre and a right and left wing.

The identity of disposition, however, was the only similarity between the two forces. The Egyptian army was apparently in the highest of high spirits, and, after the success of the daring advance of yesterday, confident of

victory under such a king as Thothmes. The Syrians, on the other hand, could scarcely fail to be discouraged by the evidence of how they had been out-manœuvred by their opponent, and had lost all the advantage of position upon which they had counted. The result was that this first of battles of which we have a detailed account in the history of the world scarcely deserves the name of a battle at all. The account of the loss of the routed army shows that there can hardly have been any such thing as a shock between the opposing lines at all; the Syrians must have lost heart at once at the confident advance of the Egyptians, and have broken and fled without awaiting actual contact. "Then His Majesty prevailed against them at the head of his army, and when they saw His Majesty prevailing against them they fled headlong to Megiddo in fear, abandoning their horses and their chariots of gold and silver."

Then followed a scene not unfamiliar under the conditions of ancient warfare—the beaten army making for the shelter of a fortified town, hotly pursued by the victor, and the townsfolk promptly, if somewhat callously, closing their gates against friend and foe alike, lest the pursuers should succeed in making entry along with the fugitives. "The people hauled them up, pulling them by their clothing, into the city; the people of this city having closed it against them and lowered clothing to pull them up into this city." The scene of panic and confusion was such as to offer to Thothmes a magnificent opportunity of ending the whole campaign at a single stroke with the capture of Megiddo and all the chiefs of the rebel army.

The king saw his opportunity with perfect clearness, and was prepared to take advantage of it; but he had to reckon with an army excited by the rapture of a most unexpectedly successful charge, and carried away by the sight of abundant loot lying about for the picking up. A year or two later, when Thothmes had got his troops thoroughly in hand, and the men had learned what their stern but adored master expected of them, there would have been a different story to tell; but as it was, the chance was lost because the men could not be got in hand again soon enough.

"Now if only the army of His Majesty had not given their heart to plundering the things of the enemy, they would have captured Megiddo at this moment, when the wretched foe of Kadesh and the wretched foe of this city were hauled up in haste to bring them into this city. For the fear of His Majesty had entered their hearts, their arms were powerless, his serpent diadem was victorious among them."

The writer of the Annals of Thothmes, who unfortunately, in the later portions of his narrative, becomes dry as dust, and gives us little more than a catalogue of the loot and tribute which is brought home from each campaign, shows us in his account of this first campaign what he might have done for us if he had not grown too lazy. His story of the Megiddo campaign is quite unrivalled among Egyptian records as a picture of the warfare of the ancient world, and the situation immediately after the battle is described with a vivacity which makes us feel that even if the soldiers of Thothmes were to blame, there was at least some excuse for them. "Then were captured their horses, their chariots of gold and silver were made spoil; their champions lay stretched out like fishes on the ground. The victorious army of His Majesty went round counting their shares. . . . The whole army made jubilee, giving praise to Amen for the victory which he had granted to his son on this day, giving praise to His Majesty, exalting his victories. They brought up the booty which they had taken, consisting of hands, of living prisoners, of horses, chariots of gold and silver, of —— "

Thothmes, however, met them with a gloomy brow. He had singularly little use for the exaltation of his victories, and would have much preferred his men to make the most of the one victory which they had won so far, rather than to waste their time and his in looting and singing his praises. "Then spake His Majesty on hearing the words of his army, saying: 'Had ye captured this city afterward, behold, I would have given (many sacrifices) unto Ra this day; because every chief of every country that has revolted is within it; and because it is the capture of a thousand cities, this capture of Megiddo'."

The best had been missed, and there was nothing for it

but to make the most out of the second best by a prompt investment of the city. Megiddo was speedily surrounded with a wall strengthened by the green timber of all the "pleasant trees" of the neighbourhood, and the wall was named "Menkheperra (Thothmes III.)-is-the-Surrounders-of-the-Asiatics". The circumvallation, however, was not so speedily accomplished but what the King of Kadesh was able to escape from the beleaguered city before it was complete, and continue his work of inciting the tribes to revolt. The army of Thothmes sat down before Megiddo, and the unfortunate citizens had the mortification of seeing Pharaoh's inspectors going about measuring their fields, with a view to the distribution of the harvest among the troops for reaping. In due course the reaping followed, and something like 120,000 bushels of good grain were appropriated by the Egyptians under the eyes of the unlucky men who had ploughed and sown the land—a proceeding admirably calculated to discourage the besieged and to amuse their besiegers.

Meanwhile the King of Kadesh was not coming any great speed with his mission of revolt among the north Syrian tribes. The Oriental has always had a keen perception of the advantages of being on the winning side, and it was now quite clear that the winning side was that of Thothmes, and not that of his enemies. Accordingly these worshippers of the rising sun came unanimously to the camp of the victor, protesting that there had never been such loyal subjects of Egypt as themselves, and offering all kinds of gifts in proof of their sincerity—gifts which one can imagine Thothmes accepting with a grim smile and a perfectly clear understanding that if he had been defeated these same chiefs would have shown him no mercy: "Behold, the chiefs of this country came to render their portions, to do obeisance to the fame of His Majesty, to crave breath for their nostrils, because of the greatness of his power, because of the might of the fame of His Majesty—bearing their gifts, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite; bringing clean grain, wine, large cattle and small cattle for the army of His Majesty". The continuance of this spectacle under their eyes day by day, and the

thought that others were getting into favour with the victor at their expense, must have been highly encouraging to the beleaguered citizens of Megiddo!

It is not surprising, therefore, that the next thing was a deputation from the city craving mercy, and an opportunity to imitate their luckier fellow-countrymen. "Those Asiatics who were in the wretched Megiddo came forth to the fame of Menkheperra, saying: 'Give us a chance, that we may pay our fine to Thy Majesty'." The Egyptians, though, as we shall see, the continuance of successful warfare produced a growing callousness in them as it appears to do in all nations, were by far the most humane of ancient nations. An Assyrian king who had been put to as much trouble as Thothmes had by Megiddo would have made the place a shambles and sown it with salt. Thothmes at once granted terms, and there was no slaying. It must be admitted, however, that he seems to have been tolerably thorough in his looting of the city, and that the poor Megiddoites must have been left to look with rueful eyes on a pretty lean larder and empty exchequer when the Egyptian army marched south again. Our useful friend, Thaneni, the author of the *Annals*, gives us a business-like summary of the spoil of Megiddo as follows: "—— 340 living prisoners; 83 hands; 2041 mares; 191 foals; 6 stallions; a chariot, wrought with gold, its pole of gold belonging to that foe (the King of Kadesh); a beautiful chariot, wrought with gold, belonging to the chief of Megiddo;—— 892 chariots of his wretched army; total, 924 chariots; a beautiful suit of bronze armour, belonging to that foe (Kadesh again!); a beautiful suit of bronze armour, belonging to the chief of Megiddo; 200 suits of armour, belonging to his wretched army; 502 bows; 7 poles of wood, wrought with silver, belonging to the tent of that foe. Behold the army of His Majesty took —— 297 —— 1929 large cattle, 2000 small cattle, 20,500 white small cattle (sheep?)." It would not be a very joyous winter in Megiddo when the townsfolk sat down to count up what their little attempt to see how far the new Egyptian king would go had cost them. He had gone quite far enough.

Some things become clear from this account of spoil.

First, the promptitude with which the Syrian army had run away as soon as they saw that the Egyptians really meant to fight. The decisive battle, which practically settled that Egypt should be overlord of Syria for four reigns, and for more than a century, was won at the cost of 83 slain among the defeated army, and probably none at all slain on the Egyptian side!—for one imagines that the Syrians were in too much of a hurry to get away to do any killing on their part. Next, the fact that the Syria of this time was far more advanced in civilisation and wealth than it was some centuries later, when the Hebrews were struggling with the Philistines for a foothold in the land. Chariots wrought with gold and silver, and tent-equipment of costly woods inlaid with silver, were things that were not to be seen in the miserable, ravaged Palestine of the dawn of Hebrew nationality. Lastly, that most of the routed army managed to flee northwards, and so escape being shut up in the beleaguered city. This is plain from the fact that only 340 living prisoners were taken at the surrender. These would be the actual fighting members of the beaten army (not that they fought very hard), as Thothmes does not appear to have taken prisoners from Megiddo, except perhaps a few hostages for the good behaviour of the place.

The king now moved northwards to the southern slopes of the Lebanon, where the main enemy, the King of Kadesh, had apparently some territory and three cities, Yenoam, Nuges, and Herenkeru. The king himself was apparently too elusive to be laid hands upon, and the future was to show that he was almost as grimly determined as Thothmes himself; but it was at least advisable to strip him bare, and deprive him of as much of his power of making mischief as possible. The three cities were quickly captured, and we have another list of spoil of an astonishingly rich character: "List of that which was afterwards taken by the king, of the household goods of that foe who was in Yenoam, in Nuges, and in Herenkeru, together with all the goods of those cities which submitted themselves, which were brought to His Majesty; 474 ——— ; 38 lords of theirs, 87 children of that foe and of the chiefs who

were with him, 5 lords of theirs, 1796 male and female slaves with their children, non-combatants who surrendered because of famine along with that foe, 103 men; total, 2503. Besides flat dishes of costly stone and gold, various vessels, a large two-handled vase of the fashion of Kharu, various drinking-vessels, three large kettles, 87 knives, amounting in all to 784 *deben* (191.1 pounds weight of gold); gold in rings found in the hands of the artificers, and silver in many rings, 966 *deben* and 1 *kidet* (235.46 pounds); a silver statue in beaten work — the head of gold, the staff with human faces; six chairs of that foe, of ivory, ebony and carob wood, wrought with gold; six footstools belonging to them; six large tables of ivory and carob wood, a staff of carob wood, wrought with gold and all costly stones in the fashion of a sceptre, belonging to that foe; all of it wrought with gold; a statue of that foe, of ebony wrought with gold, the head of which was inlaid with lapis lazuli — vessels of bronze, much clothing of that foe.”

Certainly the King of Kadesh was paying dearly for his prominence in the struggle with Egypt, and one can almost pity the poor man when he found his very chairs and footstools, sceptres and walking-sticks, to say nothing of his own personal statue, going down into the House of Bondage. The “staff with human faces” reminds us of the similar staff which was found in the tomb of Tutankhamen. Tutankhamen’s staff had the faces of two captured foes, a Syrian and a negro, carved on it; one wonders if the staff of the King of Kadesh was adorned with the face of a captive Egyptian—possibly Thothmes himself. If so, and it is quite likely, what shouts of laughter must have greeted its production before the Egyptian army.

The King of Kadesh had to endure worse than the capture of his furniture, however. In another inscription on the VIIth Pylon at Karnak, Thothmes gives us details which are not given in the Annals: “Lo, My Majesty carried off the wives of that vanquished one, together with his children, and the wives of the chiefs who were there, together with their children. My Majesty placed these women — ”. The broken inscription fails to tell us where he placed them, but as the rest of the spoil mentioned in

this record was given to the temple of Amen, the probability is that the harem of the unlucky king, with those of his chiefs, were handed over as temple servants at Karnak. It was a sufficiently deep humiliation for members of a royal household; yet it was gentle compared with what might have been their destiny under less merciful conquerors.

Before leaving north Syria, Thothmes secured his conquests by establishing a fortress in the Lebanon to overawe the turbulent chiefs. It was called, after the Egyptian custom, "Menkheperra-is-the Binder-of-the-Barbarians", and it, no doubt, served as a reminder to the local princelets of the length of the arm of Pharaoh. The king, who was far from being merely of the usual barren and unprofitable type of Eastern conqueror, meant, however, to hold the conquered territory by other bonds than those of mere force and fear. His plan was to create in another generation a set of chiefs in north Syria who would be vassals of Egypt of their own will and because of an enlightened regard to their own best interests. With a view to the accomplishment of this purpose, he required the chiefs, on their submission, to hand over to him one or other of their sons or near relatives, who were taken down with him to Egypt. There they served as hostages for the good behaviour of the tribes which they represented, and at the same time were being trained in Egyptian customs and habits of thought, and were learning to see things as Egypt saw them and to appreciate the foolishness of rebellion against so great a power.

The young princes thus brought down for training in Egypt were accommodated in a place specially prepared for them, and called "Castle-in-Thebes", and the process was steadily carried on during the warlike period of the reign of Thothmes. It was begun, however, on this first campaign, as the record in the first list of conquered cities in Palestine and Syria shows: "List of the countries of Upper Retenu which His Majesty shut up in the city of Megiddo the wretched, whose children His Majesty brought as living prisoners to the city of Castle-in-Thebes, on his first victorious campaign, according to the command of his

father Amen, who led him in excellent ways". The reference, in the Annals of the Sixth Campaign, to the same process shows how the penetration of Syria by Egyptian influence was to be carried out. "Behold, the children of the chiefs and their brothers were brought to be in strongholds in Egypt. Now whosoever died among these chiefs, His Majesty would cause his son to stand in his place." We may compare with this our own system of training the sons of Indian princes at the viceregal colleges at Ajmere, Lahore, and Rajkot. The idea was a promising one, and very much ahead of the ordinary ideas of the time, as was not unusual with Thothmes; and if it did not prove a complete success, the same criticism may be applied to our own Indian experiment. At all events, it provided the Egyptian empire with native rulers of such unflinching loyalty as Ribaddi of Byblos and Abdikhiba of Jerusalem; and the system which made such men loyal to the end, under the most unfavourable conditions, to an alien power cannot be regarded as having failed.

Thothmes's first campaign was now completed, and he returned to Thebes, which he reached within six months of his departure. Even under modern conditions, what he had accomplished in that time would be considered remarkable; under the conditions of ancient warfare, it was marvellous. The Egyptians must have felt, as Thothmes marched in laden with the spoils of Asia, that their land had now at last exacted an ample revenge for all the humiliations of the Hyksos domination, and stood first among the nations of the world, as it unquestionably did. The familiar phrase by which the Egyptian describes any marvel of his own time might well have been used of this great adventure of the new Pharaoh—"Never did the like happen under any gods who were before, since the beginning".

Pious, in his own way, Thothmes ascribed his success now, as always, to the guidance and support of his father Amen, to whom he made three great feasts of victory, which he established and endowed as regular annual events. Moreover, he made over to the Theban god the three towns which he had captured in the Lebanon, with their annual revenues, and furnished the temple with a

host of slaves whom he had brought back from Asia, and with a huge mass of splendid vessels in gold and silver for the enrichment of the temple services. "My Majesty presented to him gold, silver, lapis lazuli, malachite, copper, bronze, lead, colours, emery in great quantity, in order to make every monument of my father Amen." The king's intentions were of the best; but this was the beginning of that aggrandisement of Amen and of his priesthood which was one of the most fatal incidents in the history of Egypt. The diversion of a great proportion of the wealth and strength of the land to unproductive services, begun by Thothmes, grew with each successive reign, until it became a menace to the life of the nation; while the influence of the priesthood of Amen finally became an almost unqualified evil, which contributed perhaps more than anything else to the decline of the Egyptian power in the ancient East. It would not be fair, however, to blame Thothmes for all the misfortunes which sprang from the seed which he sowed with perfectly creditable intentions.

The king had no intention of allowing his conquests to slip out of his hand again through any lack of attention on his part. He was not done with his master enemy, the King of Kadesh, by any means; but he did not mean to attack him until he could do so with a reasonable prospect of gaining a conclusive result. In the meantime it was necessary to confirm his hold upon the conquered provinces which would have to be his advanced base in the future, and to remind the Syrian dynasts that they had a watchful and powerful suzerain. The second campaign, therefore, was more of the nature of a military parade and exhibition of the warlike strength of Egypt than an actual military operation, and there was apparently no opposition, as there is no record of any battle. Tribute came in abundantly from the conquered provinces, one of the contributions being the daughter of a chief, who was doubtless placed in the royal harem. Most interesting was the double gift from "the chief of Assur". Assyria was at this time only in its lusty childhood, and was merely a small state of "a few square miles about Ashur", on the Upper Tigris. It had already, however, entered upon its secular quarrel with Babylon,

and was somewhat under the thumb of Mitanni. It was therefore plainly to the interest of the little state that it should curry favour with the conqueror who had suddenly appeared in north Syria and given so rude a lesson to the local powers. There might be possibilities, as regarded both Babylon and Mitanni, in a friendship with the conquering Pharaoh.

Accordingly Ashur-rabi I., who may have been "the chief of Assur" in question, sent a handsome present to Thothmes on his appearance in Syria on his second campaign, and followed it up, apparently somewhat later, with another gift. The first gift is thus described by the Egyptian scribe of the Annals: "The tribute of the chief of Assur; genuine lapis lazuli, a large block, making 20 *deben*, 9 *kidet*; genuine lapis lazuli, 2 blocks; total 3; and sundry pieces, making 30 *deben*; total, 50 *deben* and 9 *kidet*; fine lapis lazuli from Babylon; vessels of Assur of stone in colours, very many". The later gift was more one of local products: "The tribute of the chief of Assur; horses — a — of skin of the — as the cover of a chariot of the finest of wood; 190 wagons of wood—*neheb* wood, 343 pieces; *carob* wood, 50 pieces; *merew* wood, 190 pieces; *neby* and *k'nk* wood, 206 pieces; olive wood . . .". "Ashur-rabi", says Professor Olmstead, "would have been bitterly resentful had he known that Thothmes had been mean enough to speak of his tribute." In point of fact the Assyrian king was not in a position to be bitterly resentful of anything that the Egyptian Pharaoh might say or do, and was probably glad enough of the Pharaoh's recognition on any terms. Thothmes was a colossus compared with the king of little Assyria at this stage, and only a few years after this the king of Mitanni, "by might and power", was taking away the palace gates of Ashur and setting them up in his own capital of Washshukkani. The relative positions of the three powers were destined to become very different in the end; but at this stage Assyria was very much of a newcomer, and by no means regarded as being on a level with the established great powers, however much she might be certain in her own mind that she would alter this state of affairs before long.

On his return to Thebes, the king again testified to his gratitude to his father Amen by adding to the temple at Karnak the splendid hall at the east end which is now known as the festival hall of Thothmes III. One hundred and forty feet in length, it lies at right angles to the axis of the temple, and was known when it was built, and for at least six and a half centuries later, as "Menkheperra-is-Glorious-in-Monuments".

Again the king marched north in the following year, merely on a parade and inspection of his conquests. On this occasion he showed one of the peculiarities which honourably distinguish him from the ordinary type of the Oriental conqueror of ancient days, and bring him more into relationship, however distant, with a man of such comprehensive genius as Napoleon. It was the same spirit which led Napoleon to include in the personnel of his Egyptian expedition a number of learned men who were to study the features of the land which his soldiers were conquering that inspired Thothmes to make a collection of all the interesting plants and animals of Asia which he met upon his travels. These he brought home with him to adorn the pleasure attached to the temple of Amen; but he also caused them to be recorded upon a series of reliefs on the walls of a chamber at the back of the temple, which is now known as the Botanic Garden. The inscription which accompanies them runs thus:

"Year 25, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperra, living forever. Plants which His Majesty found in the land of Retenu. All plants that grow, all flowers that are in God's Land, which were found by His Majesty when His Majesty proceeded to Upper Retenu to subdue all the countries, according to the command of his father Amen, who put them under his sandals from —— to myriads of years. His Majesty said: 'I swear, as Ra loves me, as my father Amen favours me, all these things happened in truth. I have not written fiction as that which really happened to My Majesty; I have engraved the excellent deeds —— My Majesty hath done this from desire to put them before my father Amen, in this great temple of Amen, as a memorial for ever and ever.'"

A conquering Pharaoh is not precisely the man whom you expect to see gathering flowers and rare animals and birds to bring home for the instruction of his subjects, instead of warlike trophies; all the more honour to Thothmes that he had the vision of the fact that it might be advisable to understand a country as well as to conquer it.

The record of the fourth campaign is blank, so that we may conclude that no new ground was broken in its course; but with the fifth we enter upon a new phase of the struggle for the Asiatic empire, and incidentally upon the first step towards the utilisation of sea-power as an adjunct to the military strength of Egypt. It is evident that the new development was recognised as such at the time, for the record of this campaign is prefaced in the records with a statement that "His Majesty commanded to cause that the victories which his father Amen had given him should be recorded upon the stone wall in the temple which His Majesty made anew for his father Amen, setting forth each expedition by its name, together with the plunder which His Majesty brought therefrom".

The move this time was against Phoenicia, the capture of whose wealthy cities would not only provide rich spoil, but would also furnish an admirable base for future operations, obviating, if necessary, the wearisome march through the desert, and giving the army both easy transit to its advanced base and an assured source of supplies. A city whose name is too much mutilated to be read with certainty was first attacked. It was far enough north and near enough to the famous city of Tunip to render this city anxious about its own fate. Reinforcements from Tunip were therefore thrown into the place, but in vain, as they only shared in the disaster which overwhelmed it, and contributed to the abundant loot which the Egyptian troops gathered. The chief spoil was the fleet of the city, "laden with everything, with slaves, male and female, copper, lead, emery, and everything good". The possession of a fleet on the spot enabled Thothmes now to move his army southwards to Arvad, which he besieged and captured, having used its fruit-trees, as at Megiddo, to strengthen his mound of circumvallation.

It is at this point that we get a quaint illustration of the truthfulness which the king claims, as we have just seen, as a characteristic of his records. Egypt itself was one of the richest countries in the world; but even the Egyptians were astonished and demoralised by the extraordinary abundance of fruit and wine in Phoenicia. "Behold, there were found the products of all Zahi (Phoenicia). Their gardens were filled with their fruit, their wines were found remaining in their presses as water flows, their grain upon the threshing-terraces; it was more plentiful than the sand of the shore. The army were overwhelmed with their portions." Overwhelmed is, indeed, apparently precisely the word, for the record goes on with delightful naïveté: "Behold, the army of His Majesty was drunk and anointed with oil every day as at a feast in Egypt". "Your Majesty," answered Ziethen, Frederick the Great's famous captain of horse, on a memorable occasion of victory, "I cannot rank a hundred sober". The severest disciplinarians, it appears, in any age, cannot secure abstinence in the best troops when temptation reaches a certain point. "Next best thing", said Captain Smollett in *Treasure Island*, "to tell the truth"—which Thothmes has done. Having got his men sober again, Thothmes saved them the labour of marching back to Egypt by shipping the army and himself from Arvad.

His next campaign, the sixth, saw him at last getting into grips with the man who had all through been the chief inciter of resistance to the Egyptian arms, "that foe of Kadesh". His command of the Phoenician coast-towns now proved its advantage to him, as he was able to disembark at one of these ports, probably Simyra, as the port nearest to Kadesh, and to march direct on his objective by the Eleutherus valley. Kadesh proved, as he had probably anticipated, a hard nut to crack. The town, though standing in the middle of a plain, occupied a very defensible position on a tongue of land between the Orontes and one of its tributaries. Advantage had been taken of the position by cutting a canal across the promontory, so that the town stood on an artificial island; it was also girdled by a moat within the natural defences afforded by the rivers, and, to

the primitive methods of siege in use at the time, must have presented a formidable obstacle. Indeed it appears that the siege lasted long enough to give Arvad, in spite of its lesson of the preceding year, some hope that Thothmes had found more than his match. Under this quite mistaken persuasion, Arvad revolted; and duly paid for it when Thothmes was ready to attend to its affairs. His statement of the capture of Kadesh is brief in the extreme, so much so as to have given rise to the supposition that he may not have captured it at all on this occasion; but this is highly improbable from what we know of the man and his methods, and the inscription, though summary, indicates the capture with sufficient clearness: "He arrived at the city of Kadesh, overthrew it, cut down its groves, harvested its grain"—following exactly the same procedure as at Megiddo. Arvad was next taught that in dealing with Thothmes it was advisable to adhere with common honesty to such agreements as had been made, for its trees and harvest were treated as those of Kadesh had been. Thereafter the king returned by water to Egypt.

The following year was spent in making sure that none of the other Phœnician towns should try to stab him in the back, as Arvad had done, while he was engaged on the great adventure which he was now meditating. Ullaza, a city near to his base at Simyra, had been defiant, and his first work was its reduction. The place had presumed to challenge the might of Egypt on very slender grounds apparently, judging by the contemptuous terms in which the Annals record its capture: "Verily, His Majesty captured this city in a short hour, and all its property was loot". Seeing Pharaoh among them once more, the native chiefs hastened to propitiate so powerful a neighbour, and appeared in his camp with ample donations. Then he sailed from port to port along the coast, "showing the flag" to the local chiefs as a reminder of who was their master, and at the same time gathering magazines in every place against a future campaign. "Now, every harbour at which His Majesty arrived was supplied with loaves and assorted loaves, oil, incense, wine, honey, fruit——abundant were they beyond everything, beyond the knowledge

of His Majesty's army; it is no fiction, they remain in the daily register of the palace (Life! Health! Strength!), the list of them not being given in this inscription, in order not to multiply words. . . ." A report was received upon the condition of the harvest in north Syria, with a view to the apportionment of the tribute from each locality. The expedition then returned home, and the king found awaiting him on his arrival the envoys of a tribe from the far south, bringing in their tribute—evidence that the southern frontiers were not being neglected while His Majesty was warring in the north.

It was not until his eighth campaign that Thothmes was in a position to carry out the plan which must have lain at the back of his mind all along as the desirable culmination to his work in Asia. Thothmes I. had carried the Egyptian standards to the Euphrates, though only in a single raid which does not appear to have been followed up by any permanent assertion of dominion. It was the aim of his descendant to equal and finally to overpass this achievement. It was in the spring of his thirty-third year, reckoning the years of his subjection, as he always does, as part of his reign, that he set out upon what he must have reckoned the crowning adventure of his life. Landing at Simyra, as before, he marched inland, and down the Orontes valley, fighting a battle at the town of Senzar, where his enemies probably disputed the crossing of the Euphrates. He then entered the land of Naharin, which was to the Egyptians of the XVIIIth Dynasty what the Spanish Main was to our own Elizabethans—the land where anything might be expected to happen, and whose very air breathed romance. He was now in touch with the most formidable opponent whom he had so far encountered—the King of Mitanni. A skirmish with the advanced troops of this monarch was followed by a serious encounter at a place known as "The-Height-of-Wan", to the west of Aleppo, which resulted in a complete victory for the Egyptian arms. During this campaign we are luckily in the position of being able to get a cross-bearing, so to speak, on the official statements from the notes of the events taken by one of the Egyptians, Amenemhab, who



THE TWO OBELISKS, KARNAK

That of Hatshepsut, to the right, is actually much loftier than that of Thothmes I

has recorded them upon the walls of his tomb at Thebes. Amenemhab belongs to the true succession of which we have already had specimens in the two kinsmen Aahmes, of El-Kab, and he has preserved for us some picturesque incidents of the wars in which he played a part, besides affording invaluable corroboration of some of the statements in the official Annals which have been questioned.

Amenemhab states that he "brought off three men and set them before His Majesty as living prisoners from the fight in Naharin"—the skirmish previously referred to. He then goes on to record his own valour at the battle of the Height of Wan. "Again I fought hand to hand on that expedition in the land of 'The-Height-of-Wan' on the west of Aleppo. I brought off 13 Asiatics as living prisoners, 13 men; 70 living asses; 13 bronze spears; the bronze was wrought with gold." Professor Olmstead, in his admirable *History of Assyria*, has chosen to throw ridicule on the claims of Thothmes to conquest in this region on this occasion, because a record of Murshilish, king of the Hittites, lays claim to a conquest of Aleppo about this time. Dr. Olmstead is again very much amused at the statement of Thothmes that he received at this point "tribute" from Babylon and from the Hittites, and criticises the whole record of the Annals as follows: "So far from the Hittite admitting his tribute to Egypt, Murshilish actually claims the conquest of Aleppo, and, not to be outdone by his rival, he goes him one better by claiming a similar capture of Babylon with much booty! Conquest of Mitanni by Egypt was impossible if Aleppo was in Hittite hands, while Hittite and Egyptian claims over Babylon were equally absurd. Rarely can we catch two rivals in such a beautiful series of lies."

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to point out that Professor Olmstead is making a great to-do about nothing. Nobody but himself misunderstands the Egyptian term of "tribute" as applied to the gifts from Babylon and Hatti; but there is absolutely no reason for questioning the fact that the gifts did come. The kings of Hatti and Babylon were too truly Orientals not to be possessed with the idea of the wisdom of agreeing with even a potential adversary

whiles one was in the way with him, and until the time came when it might be possible to crush him; and their gifts were the expression of that highly prudent view of practical politics. Why such a fuss should be made about the name applied to gifts which for a certainty came then, as they came again and again in after days, it is impossible to see. As to the Hittite claims to the conquest of Aleppo and Babylon, it is quite unnecessary to defend the truthfulness of Murshilish—Hittite trustworthiness appears a shaky quantity at the best. But the victories of Thothmes in Naharin stand upon a very different footing. Whatever Murshilish may claim to have done to Aleppo, it was Egypt which held the spoils, and continued to hold them until the collapse under Akhenaten; while it is quite vain to question the accuracy of the statement in the Annals in face of the contemporary and quite independent corroboration of them in the record of Amenemhab. So much, and perhaps too much, with regard to Professor Olmstead's man of straw.

The resistance of Mitanni having been temporarily disposed of, Thothmes now advanced northwards and eastwards. "Behold, His Majesty went north, capturing the towns and laying waste the settlements of that foe of wretched Naharin." Turning eastwards, he met the Mitannian troops again near Carchemish and routed them. His victory was followed by the consummation of his ambitions. His father, Thothmes I., had reached the Euphrates at its great bend; he now went a step further, and crossed the river into strictly Mitannian territory. It does not appear that he advanced far into Mitanni, and the probability is that he contented himself with having surpassed the furthest of all previous conquerors. He may have realised the advantage of having such a boundary line as the Euphrates, and the uselessness of advancing and conquering a country so indefensible as Mitanni. There is therefore no question of a "conquest of Mitanni" such as Professor Olmstead imagines to be claimed by Thothmes. About the crossing of the great river there need be no question. The Annals, in a mutilated sentence, mention his being "east of this water", and again his "having set up

his tablet in Naharin, *extending the boundaries of Egypt*", which he could not have done unless he crossed the Euphrates. The fragment of his great obelisk at Constantinople records—"who crossed the 'Great Bend' of Naharin with might and victory at the head of his army, making a great slaughter". Finally, as before, we have the independent statement of Amenemhab: "Again I fought on that expedition in the land of Carchemish. I brought off —— as living prisoners. I crossed over the water of Naharin while they were in my hand, to——, I set them before my lord." While the Hymn of Victory says: "Thou hast crossed the water of the Great Bend of Naharin with victory, with might."

The accomplishment of his chief aim now left him free for less serious though no less dangerous work. He marched southwards to the city of Niy, which up to this point had apparently not been subdued, and which he could not afford to leave unreduced on the flank of his conquests. Having captured it, or received its submission, he took the opportunity which the neighbourhood afforded of some big game hunting. The elephant, long since extinct in western Asia, was abundant in the vicinity of Niy, and a herd of 120 beasts was tracked by the local hunters, and reported to the king, who attacked the herd. Perhaps his Asiatic venture might have been brought to an abrupt conclusion had it not been for the courage and devotion of his captain, Amenemhab. One of the tuskers turned upon the Pharaoh as he pursued it; but was diverted from an assault which might have ended disastrously enough for Thothmes by the bold attack of Amenemhab, who slashed its trunk with his sword and then fled for his life between two rocks in the river, where the wounded and furious brute could not get at him. His record of the adventure is as matter-of-fact and business-like as the rest of his story: "Again I beheld another excellent deed which the Lord of the Two Lands did in Niy. He hunted 120 elephants for the sake of their tusks. I engaged the largest which was among them, which fought against His Majesty; I cut off his hand (trunk) while he was alive before His Majesty, while I stood in the water between two rocks.

Then my Lord rewarded me with the gold; he gave —— and three changes of clothing.” The Egyptian Victoria Cross, “The Gold of Valour”, which Amenemhab now gained apparently for the third time, was surely in this instance well-deserved.

Egypt had now reached a position which had never so far been attained by any of the powers of the Near East, and the dynasts of western Asia must have wondered at whose expense her next advance was going to be made. At the moment there was really no power which felt itself undoubtedly capable of checking the aggressive ambition of Thothmes, should he prove to be bent on pushing his conquests further. We need not wonder, then, that races which at a later stage were to prove themselves quite equal to meeting Egypt on level terms were now anxious to conciliate the friendship of the conqueror rather than to fight him. Babylon, in any case, was almost sure to do what Thothmes says she did; for Babylon was always more interested in her shop than in her army, and, besides, the sluggish Kassite kings were finding their spiky neighbour, Assyria, over whom they claimed a vague and unacknowledged suzerainty, quite as much as they could handle, without seeking a quarrel against this new and formidable claimant for power. Nor is the effort of Hatti at conciliation any more unlikely *a priori* than that of Babylon. The Hittites were to show themselves later stubborn and dangerous enemies, quite capable of meeting the best armies that Egypt could put into the field; but up to this point their own confederation was by no means so completely consolidated as to allow of a strain such as a struggle with Egypt would put upon it being contemplated with equanimity. Moreover, Hittite policy, while quite prepared to use force where diplomacy failed, was characterised all along by the desire to depend on duplicity rather than upon arms, and saw no use, as Shubbiluliuma showed at a later date, in fighting a man so long as it was possible to cheat him.

Accordingly there is nothing intrinsically unlikely in the two statements with which the Annals close their record of this most important campaign, which virtually

established Egypt in the position of arbitress of the destinies of the ancient world of the Near East. "The tribute of the chief of Shinar; real lapis lazuli, 4 (plus an indefinite quantity) *deben*; artificial lapis lazuli, 24 *deben*; lapis lazuli of Babylon — of real lapis lazuli; a ram's head of real lapis lazuli, 15 *kidet*; and vessels — The tribute of Great Kheta in this year; 8 silver rings, making 401 *deben*; of white stone, precious (white jade from China?), a great block; wood — to Egypt, at his coming from Naharin, extending the boundaries of Egypt."

Things had been going on quietly and prosperously at home during the king's absence in Asia, as is evidenced by the report which awaited him as to the tribute of Nubia. Nor had the commercial interests of the country been neglected during the progress of the wars which were building up the Egyptian empire. The traffic with Punt, which had been resumed with such a flourish of trumpets in the days of Queen Hatshepsut, was being continued by her successor, and the fleet of Thothmes arrived this year from the Land of Spirits with a precious cargo of gold, ivory, ebony, panther skins, slaves, cattle, and incense-gum. Before he left Phoenicia with his fleet, Thothmes saw to it that the harbours of the coast were duly stocked, according to contract, with everything that was necessary for the supply of his troops on their next campaign.

At this point, when the success of the new policy of aggression had reached its high-water mark (for the subsequent campaigns of the indefatigable Thothmes were not so much for new conquest as for consolidation and defence of what had already been gained), we may pause to consider the position which the king had now won for his country, and the manner in which he was rendering her glorious at home as well as feared abroad.

CHAPTER XXV

THOTHMES III. AND THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE

STRICTLY speaking, the actually aggressive part of the work of Thothmes was now accomplished. He had indeed still before him almost as many Asiatic campaigns as he had already completed; but in none of these was his object the acquisition of new territory, but only the vindication of Egyptian rights in areas already conquered, or the reduction to submission of vassals who were proving restive. The only addition subsequently made to the empire as he left it was the pushing of the frontier in the Sudan southwards from the Third Cataract to the Fourth—an extension which was completed in the reign of his descendant Amenhotep III.; with this exception, things remained as they had come from his hand until the collapse of the empire under Akhenaten, roughly speaking, almost a century later. A century or less seems a short duration for an empire created at such expense of effort and human life; but the essential characteristic of these early Oriental empires has to be remembered—their absolute dependence on the character of the one man who happens to be at the head of things. As long as the ruler proves himself to be of the same stuff as the creator of the empire, and executes swift judgment on all who dispute his authority, the structure holds together; but as soon as the controlling influence which has kept the disruptive elements quiescent is removed or weakened, disruption on a greater or lesser scale begins, and proceeds in proportion to the weakness of the central power. Only one of the successors of Thothmes, his son Amenhotep II., showed himself possessed of anything like the swift energy of the great conqueror.

Thothmes IV. had perhaps the will, but lacked the strength for the task; Amenhotep III. had the strength, but lacked the will; Akhenaten, if our interpretations of his character are correct, definitely declined to use the power which was at his disposal for the maintenance of the empire, in obedience to his religious convictions. In such circumstances, it is perhaps less remarkable that the empire of Thothmes should have collapsed so soon than that it lasted so long as it did.

It has also to be kept in mind that the century after the death of the conqueror witnessed the introduction of entirely new elements into the struggle for power in the east. During the campaigns of Thothmes, the Hittites are merely beginning to make an entrance on the stage on which they were shortly to play a part so important and so disastrous, alike to Egypt and to themselves. They may, not inconceivably, have been behind the extraordinary tenacity with which the King of Kadesh opposed an adversary so utterly beyond his weight as Thothmes. Such a method of getting others to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them would have been entirely in accordance with the ideals of Hittite diplomacy, as came to be seen very plainly at a later stage. They never appeared themselves in the field as opponents of the Egyptian king, but, on the contrary, took more than one opportunity to make a show of desiring the friendship of the man whose fortunes were on the crest of the wave, and whose star was in the ascendant. The position was entirely changed in the days of Amenhotep III. and Akhenaten. It had become fairly evident by that time that there was to be no more aggressive action on the part of Egypt; and though the Hittites, under Shubbiluliuma, continued to exhibit their natural preference for indirect as opposed to direct action against the Egyptian empire, their hostility becomes continually stronger until at last it culminates in the long-continued war which bled both Hatti and Egypt white, and left them unequal to the task of withstanding the rising power of Assyria.

Once Assyria really came into full action, of course, the question of empire was settled for the time, and adversely

for Egypt, which, already shorn of the greater part of her Asiatic empire and her Asiatic prestige, was far on the downhill slope when she was called to face the fresh energy and tremendous keenness of Assyrian aggression. At her best, under Thothmes, she might have made a fair bid for the prize, even as against Assyria; but she had not the ghost of a chance under the conditions which actually existed when the clash came. Assyria was naturally what Egypt never was—a thoroughly military state, to which warfare was natural and slaughter a pleasure. Altogether there is little reason for surprise that the duration of the Egyptian empire was so short. The nature of the Egyptian people, the new grouping of the Asiatic powers, and the rise of really warlike races forbade its long endurance. A succession of men such as Thothmes might have prolonged it for another century, or even more; but such a succession is almost an unknown thing in human history.

Even granted the continuance of genius in the line of the Pharaohs, it may be questioned if the empire would have lasted for longer than the couple of centuries which I have suggested as a possible limit. The trouble with all these early empires was that, one and all, they were trying to carry on too big a business on insufficient capital. Even Assyria, which had perhaps the most unquestionable assets in the shape of the essentially military character of her people, found herself periodically out of funds, so to speak, and her periods of expansion are regularly followed by periods of exhaustion, during which she was obliged to be as quiescent as it was in her nature to be, until she had gathered sufficient energy for a new eruption; while her final collapse was due, quite simply and naturally, to the complete exhaustion which had followed upon her most stupendous effort—the conquest of Egypt. There is, therefore, little to wonder at in the short duration of the empire which Thothmes had so laboriously built up. It reflects no discredit upon his methods and his statesmanship that his building was not founded upon the rock but upon sand; for, while it is easy for us to see the reasons which made its downfall inevitable, no man of that age, or



THOTHMES III IN YOUTH

indeed of most subsequent ages, could have been expected to realise the limitations inherent in such attempts.

Such as it was, then, the empire acquired for Egypt by Thothmes stretched from above the Third Cataract of the Nile in the Sudan to a line drawn from the head of the Bay of Issus to the Euphrates, some distance north of Carchemish. He had penetrated, as we have seen, to a certain, probably small, distance east of the Euphrates; but it does not appear that any permanent conquests were made on the eastern side of the river, the crossing of which was more in the nature of the satisfaction of a sentimental desire to surpass the furthest limit of his ancestors than an attempt at actual conquest. In any case, the growth of friendship and alliance between Egypt and Mitanni, the kingdom which occupied the eastern side of the river, speedily put an end to all thoughts of extension in that direction, if they had ever been cherished. Viewed on the map, such an empire seems a trifling thing compared with the vaster ones which succeeded it; its extent, however, seemed almost immeasurable to the Egyptian mind of the time, and its returns, in the shape of the annual tributes which were poured into the Egyptian treasury, were very considerable. Thus the tribute of Wawat alone, in the forty-first year of Thothmes, amounted to nearly eight hundred pounds weight of gold, besides a great quantity of other valuable material, such as ivory and ebony, and a number of cattle. The tribute of the Asiatic provinces also brought in a considerable quantity of gold and silver, both in bulk and in the shape of manufactured articles; while a very large proportion of it was paid, not in the precious metals, but in kind.

Judged by the standards of the time, therefore, the acquisition of the empire had been a financial success for Egypt, and the continual influx of the tribute from the conquered provinces must have produced in the country an impression of overflowing wealth and well-being. That was the impression which was produced as well upon the surrounding nations. From this time forth Egypt stands for almost a century as easily first among the great nations of the ancient east, and occupies a pinnacle from which

the other nations would fain, no doubt, have pulled her down, but which made her the admiration and envy of all. The Land of the Nile became in the eyes of the greedy dynasts of the near east a kind of Tom Tiddler's ground, where gold was to be had for the asking; and its emperor was El Dorado. Nor was the reputation of Thothmes confined to the land kingdoms of the east. The Egyptian power had been asserted by sea as well as by land during the victorious campaigns of the great captain, and when the fame of the Asiatic conquests reached Cyprus, its ruler hastened to secure himself by sending to the Egyptian king a handsome gift of the copper and lead which his island yielded, a gift which was repeated on more than one occasion.

Crete was now also in intimate relationships with the power which was manifestly supreme in the east, though we may probably conclude that in this case the relations were established on more equal terms. This was the time when the late Minoan empire of the Sea-kings was at its height, when the wonderful frescoes which have contributed so much to the artistic reputation of the race were being painted on the walls of the reconstructed palace at Knossos, and when Minoan colonies were being planted all around the shores of the Mediterranean. The tomb of Senmut shows us that even in the reign of Hatshepsut there had been peaceful diplomatic comings and goings between the Island Empire and the Land of the Nile; under Thothmes the intercourse was continued, and the tomb of his vizier Rekhmara shows the Egyptian artist's idea of the kilted, tight-girdled, and long-locked Minoans, as they present characteristically Minoan vessels of the precious metals and of pottery to be offered to the new arbiter of the destinies of the civilised world. The endurance of Crete's glories was to be even shorter than that of the splendours of Egypt; but as yet there was apparently no cloud on the horizon of either nation, and their connection, probably dating from the very earliest period of the national life of them both, was at its closest just before the destruction of Knossos.

With such internal resources, and with such facilities

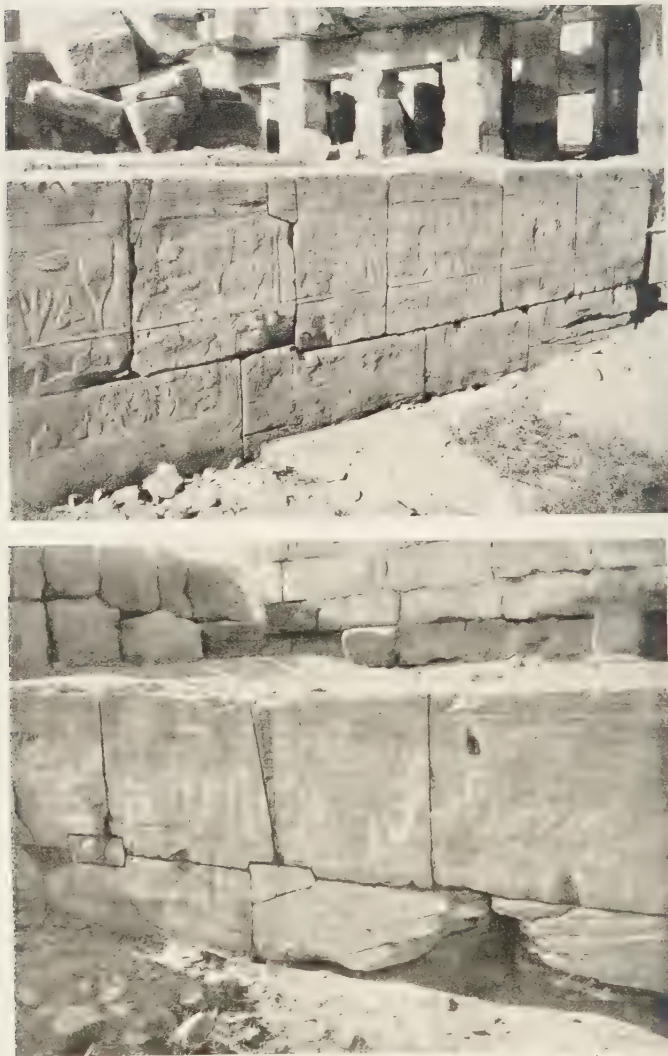
for increasing the wealth of the empire by trade as well as by warfare, Egypt was in the position of being able to devote to the adornment of her great cities and the worship of her gods an amount of material of all kinds such as she had never commanded before. One of the results of modern excavation has been to teach us how vigorous and extensive were the trade-systems of the ancient east, and what a lusty current of activity pulsed through the arteries of the trade-routes, even in times which we should have deemed most unfavourable for trade. Indeed it may be questioned if trade in the near east has ever been so well organised or so continuously plied in later days as it was during the times when Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria were rising to their full strength or contending for the mastery. The records of the temple of the Moon-god at Ur, for instance, have shown us how, long before Abraham's day, the business enterprises of that great religious corporation were organised, and its travelling servants' needs provided for with a thoroughness which was unknown again in the east until modern times; while Gudea's account of the sources from which he drew the materials for the building of his temple to Ningirsu at Lagash assures us that trade must have been safer in the western Asia of 2500 B.C. than it is at the present time in the same area. Egypt, therefore, had at command the resources of the whole eastern world for the great enterprises in which her Pharaoh now invited her to engage; and these in turn created abundant prosperity among all classes of the community. There are periods in which Egyptian art may have been purer and more attractive than it was during this imperial period, when the standards and ideals of the Egyptian artist and craftsman were being modified, not to their advantage, by close contact with, and penetration of the ideals of other nations; but at least there has never been a time when one is conscious of such superabundant vigour and confidence in the work which was being multiplied everywhere over the land.

The proud position which Egypt had now attained as the result of the warlike genius of Thothmes was by no means one in which she could afford to resign herself to

ease and slumber. When she began to do that, under Amenhotep III., her watchful enemies at once seized the opportunity offered by her supineness, and began to cut her short wherever they thought it safe to risk such an attempt. Thothmes thoroughly realised that :

The same arts that did gain
A power, must it maintain,

and that he only held the empire which he had won at the price of perpetual vigilance and effort. On his southern frontier he had to deal with a problem of an entirely different sort from that which faced him in Asia. The inhabitants of the Sudan had now been accustomed to the Egyptian yoke for many generations, and the lesson had been so burned in upon their minds by repeated disaster that it was vain to think of resisting the great power in the north which had so often swept up the great river, destroyed their settlements, and carried away their best into captivity. Now they were growing into a position where they recognised the advantages, as well as the inevitability, of Egyptian supremacy, and a considerable portion of the Egyptian army which was conquering the Asiatic provinces for Pharaoh was composed of the black Sudanese warriors, who were natural fighters in a sense in which the Egyptians never were. There were, of course, occasional spurts of rebellion even in Nubia, such as that which obliged the aged king to lead up the Nile the expedition which marked his fiftieth year of kingship. It was on this occasion that he commanded the ancient canal of his great forerunner Senusert III. to be cleared for the passage of his ships. Breasted remarks that "it is impossible to suppose that the aged Thutmose accompanied" this expedition. But the inscription expressly states that he did: "His Majesty commanded to dig this canal after he had found it stopped up with stones, so that no ship sailed upon it. He sailed downstream upon it, his heart glad, having slain his enemies." There is a touch of the old warrior's characteristic foresight, such as we have already witnessed in the furnishing of the Phoenician harbours with all supplies needed for his fleet, in the closing sentence



THE BOTANIC GARDENS OF THOTHMES III

of the canal inscription, with its account of how the king, seeing that what was everybody's business had proved nobody's business, laid the burden of maintaining the canal upon the class whose interest it was to use it. "The name of this canal is: 'Opening-of-This-Way-in-the-Beauty-of-Menkheperra-Living-Forever'. The fishermen of Elephantine shall clear this canal each year."

The maintenance of Egyptian interests in the Asiatic provinces, however, was a business of quite a different type from the easy handling of Nubia, whose tribute came in as regularly as the Inundation. The Syrian chiefs were men who had never been accustomed to own any master save their own predacious instincts. The individualism generated by the natural characteristics of their land had been an advantage to Thothmes in his conquest of Syria, for, though the King of Kadesh had succeeded in forming a kind of league which looked sufficiently formidable for the moment, it fell to pieces at the first shock, and from the date of the battle of Megiddo each chief was only jealous lest his neighbour should get ahead of him in proffering submission to the victor. Syria had no more cohesion than a pack of cards. But the same individualism led one chief or another, whenever he imagined that a favourable moment had come for asserting his independence once more, to refuse his tribute, without the slightest realisation, apparently, of the fact that he was going to bring upon his single unlucky back that whole weight of the Egyptian arms which the united strength of his race in Syria had not been able to sustain. The consequence was that every now and then Thothmes had to gird on his harness once more and lead his army up into the turbulent province again, knowing well that the spark which might be quenched with ease if he acted promptly would speedily grow into a fierce conflagration if neglected in its early splutterings.

Thus in his thirty-fourth year we find the king again in Phœnicia, on what is called his ninth campaign, but was in reality not much more than a military parade, to remind the local chiefs that it was advisable for them to implement their obligations towards their suzerain. The careful Thothmes saw to it that the harbours where his

fleet would have to lie in case of any warlike expedition were duly stocked with supplies; and in connection with this work we read in the Annals of the employment of "Keftiu ships", the merchant fleet of Crete and the Ægean islands, along with the "ships of Byblos", which represent the king's Phœnician subjects.

Next year, however, there was more serious work to do. The chiefs of the more remote provinces had not yet learned the lesson of how indomitable was the spirit of their new master, and how prompt he was to strike. "That wretched foe of Naharin", who may very likely have been the King of Aleppo, or perhaps even a more formidable opponent, the King of Mitanni, had organised a league of the local chiefs which had reached considerable strength. But Thothmes knew enough of the people with whom he had to do to keep his army always on a war footing, and he made his appearance among the rebels in the spring of his thirty-fifth year with a promptitude which obviously completely disconcerted them. "Behold, His Majesty was in the land of Zahi (Phœnicia) on the tenth victorious campaign. When His Majesty arrived at the city of Araina (unknown) behold that wretched foe of Naharin had collected horses and people — from the ends of the earth. They were numerous — they were about to fight with His Majesty. Then His Majesty advanced to fight with them; then the army of His Majesty showed an example of dash in capturing and spoiling them. Then His Majesty prevailed against these barbarians by the souls of his father Amen — They fled headlong, falling one over another, before His Majesty." The somewhat meagre list of booty which follows shows that the Asiatics had not tarried on the order of their going, but had been as swift in retreat as the Egyptian army in advance.

In this battle Amenemhab, the elephant-slayer, again distinguished himself. "Again", he says, "I beheld his victory in the country of Tikhshi the wretched — I fought hand to hand therein before the king. I brought off Asiatics, 3 men, as living prisoners. Then My Lord gave me The Gold of Honour (for the fourth time); list thereof: 2 golden necklaces, 4 arm rings, 2 flies (such as are seen in

the treasure from the coffin of Queen Aahhotep), a lion (also in gold presumably), a female slave, and a male slave." For the next two years we are left in the dark, as the records of the king's activities have been lost; but his thirty-eighth year found him once more in the southern Lebanon, where the town of Nuges, one of his earliest captures after the battle of Megiddo, was restive, and needed a reminder of the power of the Pharaoh. Thothmes took advantage of his presence in the north to inspect the Phoenician harbours as usual, and to see that they were duly stocked with munitions in view of future possibilities. Cyprus repeated its gift of copper, accompanying it with one or two spans of chariot horses. Perhaps the most interesting gift was that from Arrapachitis, a distant province of Assyria, which sent to the king several slaves of both sexes, two blocks of crude copper, 65 logs of carob wood and a quantity of sweet-smelling woods. Meanwhile the regular trade with Punt had brought in a fresh supply of incense-gum, and ample tribute from Kush and Wawat had come in to round off the year with prosperity.

The Beduin of the north-eastern frontier of Egypt were never very long without the need of someone to keep them in order, and Thothmes began the campaign of his thirty-ninth year with a visit to them. He does not consider it worth while to record any details of such a trifling matter; but Amenemhab tells us that he personally fought hand to hand in the Negeb (the south country of Palestine), and brought off his usual batch of prisoners—three on this occasion. Marching northwards after his easy victory over "the fallen ones of Shasu", he gathered in the Syrian tribute, and attended to the supply of the Phoenician harbours. It is somewhat doubtful if the campaigns known as the fifteenth and sixteenth have any right to be numbered as campaigns at all, as the records only supply lists of tributes and gifts. Cyprus again sends copper, lead, and, somewhat strangely, ivory; while the chief of "Great Kheta" sends a present of gold—quantity unknown.

By this time Thothmes was getting well up in years, and had been spending almost the last score of them in ceaseless activity, such as might have worn out the strength

of any man. But he was still to receive and to answer a summons to "one fight more", which he may well have reckoned "the best and the last", as it involved what was apparently a final closing of the account with the man who, during the last twenty years, had been his "thorn in the flesh"—the King of Kadesh. One would have wished to know more about a man who was to all appearance almost as indomitable as the Egyptian Pharaoh himself, and as fertile in devices; but we are left only a few scraps of information from his enemies. He had succeeded in forming a new league against the Egyptian suzerainty, and had persuaded Tunip and some of the coast cities to join it; while, in addition, he had secured help from "wretched Naharin" (Mitanni?) in the shape of a considerable contingent of chariotry and infantry. Thothmes planned his campaign on familiar lines. Landing on the Phoenician coast, probably somewhere between the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth parallel, he attacked and captured the city of Erkatu, which had rebelled, and whose overthrow entailed the submission of the surrounding district, and provided him with a base for his advance.

His next move was on Tunip, which lay almost opposite Erkatu. The city was captured after it had seen its harvest reaped and secured by the Egyptian troops. By this unexpected series of moves, which had taken the confederation in rear instead of in front, Kadesh was completely isolated from its northern supports and, above all, from all hope of any further help from Mitanni. Its king must have realised that his only hope of salvation depended upon himself, and that it was not a particularly brilliant one. Yet, instead of making the submission which, with so merciful an opponent as Thothmes, would have secured his own personal safety, he resolved to stake everything on the issue of a desperate defence of his city, which, as we have already seen, was a fortress of no mean strength.

At this point, unfortunately, the Annals almost entirely fail us, just when we should have wished for the greatest fulness of detail; and all that Thaneni or his priestly transcriber has thought fit to tell us is: "Behold, His Majesty came in safety, arrived at the district of Kadesh, captured

the cities therein". Captain Amenemhab, to whom we have been indebted for most of the few picturesque touches which enliven the tale of the conquests of his master, gives us a little more than the annalist, but, as usual, merely from the personal point of view, being (naturally) more concerned with his own exploits than with matters of serious history. Fortunately, however, one of these exploits reveals to us one of the curious shifts to which that man of many devices, the King of Kadesh, had resort in his vain attempt to stave off the ruin which hung over his head. He was apparently venturing to give battle under the walls of his city in the hope of hindering the investment, and as the Egyptian chariotry was ranked before him, ready to charge, he drove a mare among them, in the hope of exciting the stallions of the Egyptian force, and causing confusion in their ranks. Amenemhab, the always ready, was, however, equal to the occasion. "The King of Kadesh", he says, "sent out a mare in front of the army, in order to disorganise them by entering among the ranks. I pursued after her on foot, with my sword (same which I cut off the elephant's trunk with—to paraphrase Rawdon Crawley), and I ripped open her belly; I cut off her tail, I laid it before the king, while everybody thanked God for it. It gave me such pleasure that it filled my body with happiness and thrilled my limbs." "*C'était un des plus beaux jours de ma vie*", as Baron Marbot would have said, fighting men being much the same in all ages.

The skirmish under the walls was followed by an assault, in which Amenemhab again distinguished himself. "His Majesty sent forth every valiant man of his army in order to breach for the first time the wall which Kadesh had built. I was the one who pierced it, being the first of all the valiant; no other before me did it. I went forth, I brought off two men, lords, as living prisoners. Again My Lord rewarded me because of it, with every good thing for satisfying the heart in the royal presence." Such a storm of a rebel city would, under the ordinary conditions of Oriental warfare (to say nothing of more modern war) have been followed by a wholesale slaughter of the vanquished, not unaccompanied with torture in the case of the chief

offenders. Thothmes was of a different type from the ruthless and bloodthirsty eastern conqueror with whose cruelties we are familiar. We have no details from his own Annals; but in the tomb of his treasurer, Menkheperasonb, there is a picture representing various chiefs, unbound and free, offering gifts to Pharaoh, and among them is "the chief of Kadesh", whose offering is a vase and an ornamented dagger. He is accompanied by another rebel, "the chief of Tunip". Such clemency was a new thing in ancient warfare, and it did not go without its reward. Long after Thothmes was in his grave, when his Asiatic empire was falling to pieces, Tunip, the rebel city of his day, adhered to its loyalty with a steadfastness which, unrewarded as it was, is one of the most pathetic things in ancient history.

And now, though he did not know it, the wars of Thothmes were over. He had still a dozen years before him, which were to be full of work for the good and the glory of his country; but he had fought his last fight, and he was no more to know the joy of a new adventure as he sailed northwards along the Syrian coast, or led his guards through the passes of the Lebanon or across the Asiatic plains. The chiefs of Syria and Naharin had been slow and stubborn scholars; but they had learned their lesson at last, and had learned it thoroughly. They knew now that, however quick they might be with their concentrations, Thothmes would be quicker still, that whatever help they might obtain from the jealous rivals of Egypt, Thothmes would be more than a match for it and them together, and that the farthest distant of the provinces was no safer than the nearest from the swift movements of a Pharaoh who made the sea his humble servant, and had landed his army behind you and cut you off from your supports, while you were carefully looking for him in front and expecting a frontal attack. They had learned also that this same swift and stern soldier was not the bloodthirsty monster of Oriental traditions in war, but a merciful and gentle man who saw no need of slaying even his bitterest enemy if he could find a better use for him alive. The consequence of it all was that to the end of his days Thothmes had no

further trouble with his conquered provinces; that his son, his grandson, and his great-grandson never needed to make more than a single expedition apiece into the Asiatic provinces, just to remind the restless spirits among the chiefs of the length of the Egyptian arm, and that even when Egypt was deaf to the appeals of her faithful vassals, who were being pressed hard by Hittites, Amorites, and Habiru, and could have won their safety at once by deserting the cause of a land which seemed to care nothing for their distress, there were still found, among the descendants of the men whom Thothmes had conquered, faithful Abdiels who preferred death to the dishonour of breaking their allegiance to an Egypt which they judged by the light of the example of their great conqueror. The Asiatic chiefs had been taught that if Thothmes was a foe to be dreaded, he was also a friend to be depended upon, and it was that belief, mistakenly applied to kings who were not like Thothmes, which kept Ribaddi of Byblos, Abimilki of Tyre, and Abdikhiba of Jerusalem loyal when disloyalty was in fashion and would have been to their own selfish interest. "Who formerly could have plundered Tunip without being plundered by Manakhbiria?" (Menkheperra, Thothmes III.)—so wrote the once rebel city many years later to a Pharaoh who would not listen. The man who made upon the minds of those whom he had conquered such an impression of his sleepless faithfulness to his obligations to them must have been a great deal more than the mere fighter which he is sometimes represented as being.

During all his years of warfare, the king had by no means been neglectful of what each Pharaoh seems to have considered one of his primary duties to his country, his god, and himself—the erection of new buildings or monuments to show his zeal for divine things. The fashion of erecting obelisks in front of the pylons of the temples, begun apparently by Senusert I. in the XIIth Dynasty, had been revived by Thothmes I. and Hatshepsut. It was now continued on a great scale by Thothmes III. Puamra, one of the famous architects of Hatshepsut's reign, who had somehow managed to accommodate himself to the change of allegiance, and to maintain himself in favour at

court, had been entrusted with the erection of a pair of obelisks in commemoration of the king's first jubilee—on the attainment of the thirtieth year since his accession. Puamra has left us a tomb-inscription with a picture of himself receiving reports from six overseers of workmen. Two obelisks stand in the background, and the inscription runs: "Inspection of the great and excellent monuments which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperra, made for his father Amen in Karnak, of silver, gold, and every costly splendid stone; by the hereditary prince, count, divine father, Puamra". The inscription on the obelisks reads: "Thothmes III.—he made it as his monument for his father Amen, that he might be given life forever". Puamra's shafts are probably those which once stood before Pylon VII., on the south side of Karnak. A fragment of the eastern shaft survives, and from its measurements Mr. Engelbach has concluded that the obelisks must have stood somewhere between 94 and 115 feet in height. That is to say, they were probably higher than Hatshepsut's 97½-foot shaft at Karnak, and were probably quite as high as the Lateran obelisk at Rome (105½ feet, the tallest now in existence). The Antiquities Department has now unearthed the fragments of the western shaft of the pair, and its foundations have been uncovered.

For his second jubilee, Thothmes commissioned another architect, probably his treasurer Menkheperasonb, whose curious name seems to mean something like "Health to Thothmes III.", to erect another pair of obelisks. A picture is in existence by the side of the sanctuary at Karnak, in which Thothmes is shown presenting his father Amen with a number of gifts, among which are a couple of obelisks which may well be those now erected by the exuberantly loyal Menkheperasonb. On one of them the inscription which follows the titulary of Thothmes runs thus: "He made it as his monument for his father Amen, Lord of Thebes, erecting for him two great and mighty obelisks of granite; the pyramidions being of electrum, at the double pylon of the temple". Menkheperasonb refers to the work on these shafts in his

own tomb-inscription: "I inspected when His Majesty erected obelisks and numerous flagstaves for his father Amen. I pleased His Majesty while conducting the work on his monuments." It is not improbable that one of this pair, or rather a fragment of it, is the obelisk which now stands at Constantinople, whither it was removed from Thebes by the Emperor Theodosius. This is obviously only the top part of an obelisk which in its original condition must have been higher than any one now in existence; but certainty as to whether it is one of the Menkheperasonb pair is not attainable at present. The inscription upon it, though pronounced by Mr. Engelbach to be "without interest", is actually far from that. It contains the sentence already quoted about Thothmes crossing "the Great Bend of Naharin with might and with victory", a passage which not only confirms other statements as to the crowning achievement of the king's Asiatic campaigns, but also definitely dates the obelisk to a time after the eighth campaign.

In addition to these two pairs, Thothmes arranged in his later days for the erection of a gigantic single shaft in front of the VIIIth Pylon, on the south side of Karnak. The huge block, $105\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, was duly brought down from Aswan, shaped and engraved with its inscription. Thothmes took an especial pride (why is not obvious to us) in the fact that it was the only instance on record of the erection of a single obelisk. "He made it as his monument", so the inscription runs, "for his father Amen-Ra, Lord of Thebes, erecting for him a single obelisk in the forecourt of the temple over against Karnak, as a first instance of erecting a single obelisk in Thebes". He was never destined, however, to see the completion of his plan, for he died before the shaft was erected on its base. After his death it lay neglected for thirty-five years, his son Amenhotep II. having apparently no tastes in the direction of completing the unfinished work of his fathers. His grandson, Thothmes IV., was of a different stamp, and cherished a reverence for the great work of the past which was seemingly quite foreign to the mind of Amenhotep II. When he was only Crown Prince, he restored the Sphinx

to its proper condition by removing the encroaching sand, and one of the acts of his short reign was the gracious one of doing honour to the great memory of his grandfather by completing his monument.

He erected it on its original site, having first added to the inscription of his grandfather a long and pious inscription of his own. The relevant part of the record runs thus: "Thothmes IV., Begotten of Ra, Beloved of Amen. It was His Majesty who beautified the enormous single obelisk, which was one that his father (grandfather), the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperra, had brought, after His Majesty had found this obelisk lying on its side, having passed 35 years in the hands of the craftsmen on the south side of Karnak. My father (grandfather) commanded that I should erect it for him, I his son, his saviour — The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperura (Thothmes IV.) did this, in order to cause that the name of his father might abide and endure in the house of Amen-Ra, that the son of Ra, Thothmes IV., Shining-in-Diadems, may be given life through him — Behold, His Majesty was vigilant in beautifying the monument of his father. The King himself was the one who gave direction, being skilfully-minded like 'Him-Who-Is-South-Of-His-Wall' (Ptah, the Creator-God)."

This noble example of Egyptian craftsmanship and engineering skill, which weighs about 455 tons, has had a chequered history. In A.D. 330 Constantine the Great transported it to Alexandria, with a view to its being sent to Byzantium for the adornment of his new capital, Constantinople. Twenty-seven years later his son Constantius took it instead to Rome, and set it up in the Circus Maximus. In 1587 it was discovered lying there, shattered into three pieces, and was set up on its present position in 1588 by Domenico Fontana, at the instance of Pope Sixtus V., who apparently thought that he was indicating the triumph of Christianity over Paganism by disfiguring its pyramidion with a cross—a disfigurement which it shares with the other nine obelisks over twenty feet high which are scattered over Rome. It is probably too much to

expect that modern authorities at Rome, if they intend to maintain their possession of the noble monuments of national greatness which were filched from Egypt, should at least restore them to the nearest possible resemblance to the appearance which they originally presented; but such a restoration would at all events be an admission that Christianity neither needs nor can derive any glory from the disfigurement of the emblem of another religion.

With two more of these great works of Thothmes the English-speaking world has a close connection. The king erected at the temple of Ra in Heliopolis another pair of shafts, measuring just a trifle under 70 feet in height. These were removed to Alexandria about 12 B.C. by a Greek architect named Pontius. One of them fell from its pedestal early in the fourteenth century of our era, miraculously escaping being shattered to fragments as the Lateran obelisk had been. This fallen shaft was finally presented to the British Nation in 1831 by Muhammad Ali, after it had been repeatedly offered before. After its transfer it was allowed to lie untouched until 1877, when it was brought to England by Mr. John Waynman Dixon, acting for Sir Erasmus Wilson, and was set up on the Thames Embankment, where, as everybody knows, it goes by the ridiculous name of Cleopatra's Needle. Spurred to emulation by the success of the British transfer, the United States undertook the removal of the twin shaft to New York, and this was accomplished in 1881 by Lieut.-Commander G. H. Goringe of the U.S. Navy. The American Cleopatra's Needle now stands in Central Park, New York.

Thus some of the most remarkable works of the greatest of Egyptian Pharaohs are scattered over the world from Constantinople to New York, while the land to whose gods they were dedicated does not possess one solitary specimen of them. Indeed Egypt, the native home of the obelisk, possesses at present but five examples of its most characteristic architectural feature, one of them being merely a miniature obelisk in gritstone, erected by Seti II.; while the most famous shafts are set up in civilised countries whose inhabitants do not take sufficient interest

in them to call them by the names of the great kings who erected them. This is surely a record of which modern civilisation ought to be a little ashamed, all the more because under modern conditions in the great cities of Europe and America these magnificent monuments of past glory are rapidly losing their beauty and even their legibility.

"What would the feelings of Tuthmosis III. have been," says Mr. Engelbach, "when he ordered these obelisks for the god Re, had he known that one would be taken to a land of whose existence he never dreamed, and that the other would fall into the hands of what was then a savage people; and, after undergoing such vicissitudes as shipwreck and injuries from a German air-bomb, would still be standing, though thousands of miles away, after a lapse of nearly 3500 years?" Mr. Weigall's caustic comment seems in place: "If the vanity of a past generation sanctioned the erection of an historic Egyptian monolith of exquisite pink granite, which was only significant so long as it remained on its native soil, and was only beautiful so long as it retained its delicate colour, the least reparation the Londoners of to-day could make to the outraged spirit of the grand old warrior, Thutmose III., would be to keep his sacred jubilee-monument clean, and not to dub the pathetic thing 'Cleopatra's Needle'".

His obelisks were perhaps the most striking memorials of the activity of the king; but the mark of his hand was seen over the whole land, and far into the Sudan. We have seen how he added the Festal Hall to the existing buildings at Karnak. The two beautiful granite pillars, showing in relief the Lotus and Papyrus, were part of an addition which comprised record-chambers. Several pylons were added, including two on the southern side of the great temple; while a small temple to Ptah was also the work of Thothmes. The great brick girdle-wall of the existing buildings was added by him, and some of the most valuable historical documents of the reign, in the shape of the three long lists of conquered towns and cities, two northern and one southern, were inscribed upon the thin pylon (VI.) which he built between the pillared hall of Thothmes I.

and the sanctuary. At Heliopolis he executed a great amount of work, including the enceinte wall of the great temple of Ra. In the Delta, at Koptos, at Medinet Habu, and Der el-Bahri, and a score of other places in Egypt his building activity can be traced. But one of the greatest outlets for his unresting energy was found in the Nubian provinces, where at least thirty sites were built on by him. "We see thus", says Petrie, "the most extraordinary activity in building; and probably dozens of minor temples have passed away which are quite unknown to us, as little suspected as the temples of Kom el Hisn, Gurob, and Nubt were a few years ago". A great deal of this work must have been carried on by the prisoners of war whom he brought back with him from his various campaigns; but the evidence shows that the lot of these unlucky men was by no means the hard bondage in brick and mortar which was laid upon the Hebrews at a later date. The tomb of Rekhmara is, of course, that of an official, and things may not have been quite of such a roseate hue as that in which he paints them; yet the ideals which the vizier presents are not those of a hard taskmaster. The brickmakers in Rekhmara's tomb are Semitic captives—"the captivity which His Majesty brought for the works of the temple of Amen", and they remark of their chief, who is the vizier himself: "He supplies us with bread and beer and every good kind of food; he leads us with a loving heart for the amiable king". Amiable is not just the kind of adjective which one expects to find applied to the old warrior; but there is a good deal of evidence to show that it is not altogether out of place, and that one of the leading characteristics of the great king was his kindliness.

Another was his thoroughness. Highly exalted as he was, and master of an empire so great that intimate personal knowledge of its affairs might have seemed either beneath him or impossible, he was not content to delegate his responsibilities to the faithful and able set of men who served him. Pharaoh might have good servants; but he knew that the consciousness that the eye of the master is over all makes even the best servant better still. He was not too great or too busy a man to enquire into the workings of

every branch of the national activity, and to require a strict account from those who were responsible for the right ordering of the national life. His prime minister, Rekhmara, had a sufficiently good opinion of himself, for he remarks that "there was nothing of which he was ignorant in heaven, in earth, or in any quarter of the nether world", which seems a fairly wide claim for any man to make; but even he had a wholesome respect for the knowledge and the judgment of a man who was even bigger than himself—and that was his king. "Lo," he says, "His Majesty knew that which occurred; there was nothing which he did not know, he was Thoth (the God of Wisdom) in everything, there was no affair which he did not complete".

Naturally one who, in addition to his royal dignity, showed such personal qualities, and displayed such an intense personal interest in the workings of the various departments of his government, got well served. Thothmes was surrounded by a set of warriors, statesmen, and masters of works who were all inspired by something of the same eager spirit which their king himself exhibited. Occasionally, perhaps, some of them may have wished that His Majesty was not quite so active, and would leave them alone to do a job which they understood better than any outsider, no matter how royal, ever could. For instance, Menkheperresonb, who, in addition to his position as Treasurer of the realm, held also that of "Chief of the Overseers of Craftsmen", and was a master in his calling, may be suspected of not having given full expression to his actual thoughts when he quietly inscribed upon the wall of his pictured tomb the words, "Viewing the workshop of the temple of Amen, the work of the craftsmen, in real lapis lazuli and in real malachite, which His Majesty made after the design of his own heart". The busy treasurer must often have thought that he had plenty to do without His Majesty coming poking round with impossible designs of his own and asking the craftsmen to execute them. But, on the whole, there can be little doubt that the constant attention which the king paid to the work of his subordinates must have been a stimulus to them to give freely of the best that was in them.

Of these great men who wrought for Egypt under their energetic master, we have already met with Puamra, the obelisk expert, who was one of the few survivals from the Hatshepsut regime, and with Rekhmara, whose wonderfully decorated tomb at Thebes is described by Breasted as "the most important private monument of the Empire". Another of the foremost men of the period was Nehi, who was viceroy of Kush during the latter half of the reign of Thothmes; while Menkheperaddon seems to have been one of those Admirable Crichtons of whom Egypt alone had the secret, and who, though they were Jacks of all Trades, were by no means Masters of None. One of the most interesting of them all is Antef, the king's herald, who may have been connected with the ancient royal house of Thebes which furnished the kingdom with the Pharaohs of the XIth Dynasty, and who certainly had an opinion of his own merits which would have served the greatest of the monarchs of Egypt.

On his magnificent stele, which is one of the treasures of the Louvre, Antef occupies 24 out of 27 lines with the statement, first of the manifold duties which he had to perform during his life, and the remarkable qualities of his mind and spirit. This mild assertion of his own excellencies he closes thus: "He says: 'Those were my qualities, of which I have testified; there is no deceit therein; these were my excellencies in very truth, there is no exception therein. Nor was there any likening of words to boast for myself with lies; but that was my colour, which I showed; that was my office in the estate of the King (Life! Health! Strength!), that was my service at the Court (Life! Health! Strength!), that was my duty in the judgment-hall.'" Of course no one could doubt the good man's righteousness after such an asseveration; even allowing, however, for a reasonable discount, there is enough left to establish Antef in our esteem. Particularly because in the last three lines of his self-eulogy he has left us a picture of the ordering of the household of the great Pharaoh when on campaign, which we should be sorry to have missed.

"I followed the King of the Two Lands," he says, "I struck into his tracks in the countries——, I arrived at the

ends of the earth, being at the heels of His Majesty (Life! Health! Strength!); my valour was like the lords of strength; and I captured like his champions. Every palace in a country (I occupied) before the troops, at the head of the army. When my lord arrived in safety where I was, I had prepared it; I had equipped it with everything that is desired in a foreign country, I had made it better than the palaces of Egypt, purified, cleansed, set apart, their mansions adorned, each chamber for its proper purpose, I made the king's heart satisfied with that which I did." It is evident from Antef's interesting recital that Thothmes held the entirely sensible opinion that, in order for a man to be a hero, it is not necessary that he should be made uncomfortable, and believed that the best results are to be looked for from a good man, only when his body is well looked after. In the case of a lesser man, this attention to the small details of personal comfort might have been regarded as a mark of small-mindedness. But the man who sent Antef the herald ahead to see that his bed was aired and his supper ready was the man who was foremost in leading through the pass of Aaruna, and who fought with elephants as a relaxation from the dangers of battle. Napoleon, it will be remembered, was equally careful of his own personal comfort; and a man very different from either Thothmes or Napoleon, Dr. Samuel Johnson, once gave it as his considered opinion that "the man who does not mind his belly is not likely to mind anything else".

As Thothmes was one of the first of all great captains to appreciate the value of sea-power, and to use it as an instrument of warfare, it is interesting that we have the name of his admiral. Nebamon does not tell us much about his career, being more concerned over prayers for his welfare in the next world than with his exploits in this; but he contrives to edge in among the rest that "My Lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperra, given life, repeated favours to me; he appointed me to be captain of all the ships of the king. There happened no oversight of mine, nor was there found any neglect of mine." He was not a young man when he came to the front under Thothmes III., having already been in office under



FESTIVAL HALL OF THOTHMES III

Thothmes II.; and he tells that he "attained a revered old age, being in the favour of the king's presence".

One of the surest proofs of the impression which a great man made during his lifetime on his age and country is the fact of his becoming a figure of popular legend, whose mighty deeds are handed down in the folk-tales of the common people, and who very often is pictured as having gathered round him a circle of heroes whose deeds surpass those of ordinary humanity. David, for instance, with the beautiful stories of his youth and of his outlaw days, and the group of mighty men who attach themselves to him, is an excellent illustration of the process. Charlemagne, with his Paladins; Arthur, with the Knights of the Round Table; the Cid, with his magic swords and his gallant company of warriors against the Moor—almost every land and period has some such group of figures clustered around the great champion. Egypt's legendary hero is Thothmes III., who began to fill the role of national champion very soon, and retained his position to a late stage of the history. At least three Pharaohs of a later age adopted his name Menkheperra as part of their royal titulary, the latest of them, Necho, more than eight hundred years after the old hero's death; and the same magic name continued to be placed on amulets and scarabs, practically to the end of Egyptian history, so that two out of every three scarabs bearing names will generally be found to bear the wonder-working syllables.

We have already come across more than one of the great men who accompanied him on his campaigns, and helped him in the upbuilding of the empire, Antef the herald and the matter-of-fact Captain Amenemhab. It is a pity that we have not any more of such military biographies as those of Amenemhab and the earlier two Aahmes of El-Kab; but in place of such first-hand materials, we have only an ancient folk-tale about one of the champions of the great king, which, after being handed down for almost two hundred years, was at length written, doubtless by no means for the first time, in the famous manuscript now known as the Papyrus Harris 500. It shared in the destruction which was wrought by that most unlucky

explosion which so sorely mutilated this priceless papyrus, and the beginning of the story is lost; but enough of it survives to let us understand the drift of a tale which deserves mention as being the first example of a theme which has supplied several of the best known legends of history.

Tahuti, the hero of the tale, is one of the captains of Thothmes III., and has evidently been sent with a small force to reduce the town of Joppa, whose chief has revolted against Egyptian rule. The crafty old soldier entices the rebel chief to a conference by suggesting, in the most unblushing manner, that he is prepared to join him in his rebellion; and as an additional inducement he offers to show the chief the leading-staff of Menkheperra, which he has brought with him. Having thus secured the chief, whom he promptly clubs into insensibility with the leading-staff, he introduces a company of his soldiers into panniers, which are borne on carrying poles by the rest of his command, and forces the charioteer of the unconscious chief to gain admittance for the whole troop by pretending that they have secured Tahuti as a prisoner and are coming in with offerings. Once inside the gate, the porters open the panniers and let out their comrades, and the town is at once captured.

This is the earliest use of the motive which appears next in the Wooden Horse of Troy, and which was used in actual fact in 1038 by the Arabs, with a view to the capture of Edessa, but with very different fortune, as the alarm was given in time and the whole party was destroyed, with the exception of the commander, who was sent back to Bagdad to tell the story, minus his hands, ears, and nose. Its most notable use, however, has been in fiction, and everyone who has rejoiced in the tale of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves is indebted to the old romancer who worked up a probably quite historical event into the wonder tale of how Tahuti captured Joppa.

The hero of the story is an entirely historical personage, of whom we possess several relics. A broken silver dish and a canopic jar of alabaster from his tomb are in Paris; a second canopic jar, a palette, a *kohl* vase, and a heart scarab set in gold are in Leyden; while the dagger of the bold cap-

tain is at Darmstadt. But most interesting of all is the splendid gold dish, now in the Louvre, which was a personal gift from King Thothmes to his captain. It is a noble piece of embossed work, ornamented with groups of fish on the inside of the flat bottom, and measures about seven inches across, with vertical sides an inch high, and a weight of 5729 grains troy, or almost exactly a pound. It bears, incised on its upright edge, an inscription which runs as follows: "Given in praise by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperra, to the hereditary prince, the divine father, the beloved of God, filling the heart of the king in all foreign lands, and in the isles in the midst of the great sea, filling stores with lazuli, electrum and gold, keeper of all foreign lands, keeper of the troops, praised by the good lord of both lands and his *ka*, the king's scribe, Tahuti". One of the Leyden articles bears an inscription which calls him "governor of the north countries", which tallies with the duty entrusted to him in the tale of reducing Joppa to obedience.

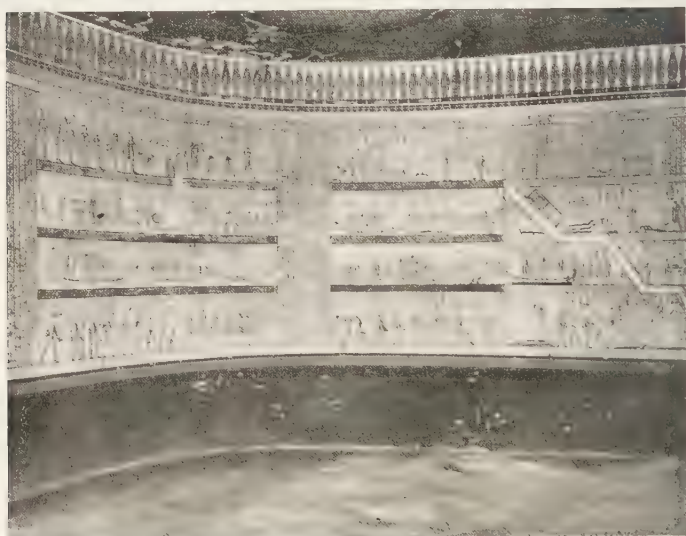
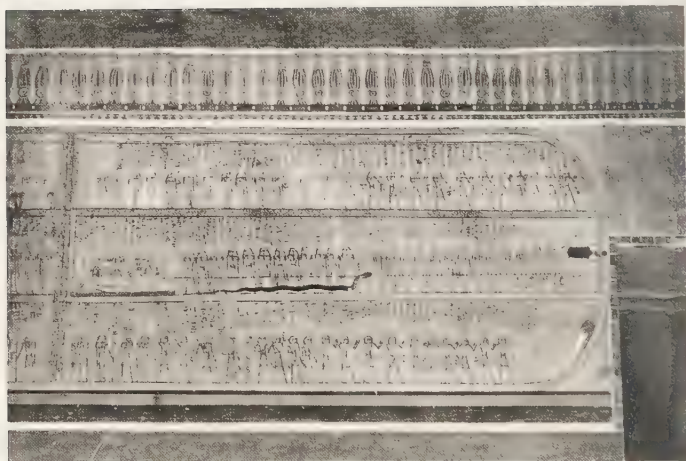
When the phrase of the Louvre bowl about the "isles in the midst of the great sea" is regarded in connection with the repeated receipt of gifts from Cyprus, it suggests that Thothmes may have exercised over Cyprus, at all events, and perhaps over some of the Ægean islands, some kind of suzerainty. Breasted goes so far as to suggest that at this time the King of Alashiya (Cyprus?) became practically a vassal of Egypt, and that Tahuti regarded the Ægean islands as coming within his jurisdiction as governor of the north countries; and while this is not directly stated in either of the inscriptions quoted above, it is at least a possible inference from them. In any case we must regard Thothmes as not only master of a great land empire, the greatest of his time, but also as one of the two great naval powers who divided the sovereignty of the Mediterranean between them at this period, the other being the Minoan kingdom of Knossos, now within half a century or so of its fall.

The tomb of Tahuti, from which these illuminating relics have come, has never been discovered—at least not by any of the recognised representatives of Egyptology—though it has been diligently and repeatedly sought for.

Unauthorised excavators, however, evidently discovered it half a century ago, as the articles which now adorn the museums of Paris, Leyden, and Darmstadt came into the market about that time. The tomb-robbers have kept their knowledge of the old soldier's resting-place to themselves up to the present; but possibly, when the tomb has lost its value as an investment, they may allow its whereabouts to be disclosed. It will be a matter of great interest in that event to compare Tahuti's own version of the capture of Joppa with the unofficial legend which has kept his name alive for more than three thousand years—if, as is quite possible, he has recorded the facts on which the tale was based.

As the great king felt his strength weakening at the approach of old age, he took steps to secure that the succession to the throne should not be interrupted by any of those struggles of rival claimants which his own early days had known. He had several wives, among them at least one, and possibly both, of the daughters of Queen Hatshepsut. But if the Princess Neferura ever lived to be married to him, which is doubtful, he had no son by her, and her sister Merytra Hatshepsut is the Great Royal Wife of the reign, and the mother of the Crown Prince. The other ladies to whom Thothmes was married were Ahset, who must have been of royal blood, as she is distinguished by a cartouche round her name, Merytamon, who is called "King's Daughter, King's Sister, and King's Wife", so that she must also have been of royal descent; and Nebtu, of whose estate our friend Admiral Nebamon was steward. She is called "Princess Nebtu, daughter of the King's Son, Setum", so that, though she was not of such indisputably high rank as Merytamon, she was equally of royal descent. By one or other of these royal ladies, Thothmes was father of several daughters—Princess Nefertari, who died young; Princesses Toui, Takhete, Petkeie, Petpui, Meryptah, Sathora, Neferamen, Uiey, and Henutan. The only son, however, was Amenhotep, born of the marriage with Merytra Hatshepsut, and therefore of indisputably royal lineage of the purest type.

He was probably not long out of his teens when his father associated him with himself in the sovereignty, and



SCENES FROM TOMBS OF (1) AMENHOTEP II AND (2) THOTHMES III

the association only endured for about a year, so that Amenhotep must have come to full power in his earliest twenties. It was probably in the spring of the year 1447 (possibly 1450) that the great builder of the Egyptian empire let the sceptre fall from his failing hands and was laid to rest in the Valley of the Kings, amid splendours such as no Pharaoh of Egypt had been able to command before him. His faithful captain, Amenemhab, has left us the brief obituary notice of the great man whom he had followed to victory for so long: "Lo, the king completed his lifetime of many years, splendid in valour, in might, and in triumph; from year 1 to year 54, third month of the second season, the last day of the month, under the Majesty of King Menkheperra, justified. He mounted to heaven, he joined the sun; the divine limbs mingling with Him who begat him."

For one of his jubilee festivals one of the Egyptian poets, possibly a priest of Amen, had composed a Hymn of Victory, in which the praises of the mighty conqueror are put into the mouth of no less a personage than Amen-Ra, now by far the most powerful of Egyptian gods. It was inscribed on a magnificent stele of black granite, which was placed in a chamber near the sanctuary at Karnak where the king had done so much work. We have seen in the XIIth Dynasty Hymn to Senusert III. an example of the poetic art of the Middle Kingdom by no means unworthy, in spite of its somewhat stiff and stilted form, of the great soldier who inspired it. The Hymn to Thothmes III. may stand beside the older poem as a specimen of the poetry of the Empire at its earlier stage, and is also a remarkable piece of work, though again one is conscious of a certain element of over-laboured preciousness in its form. It has been frequently translated, and a few lines of the recent rendering by Professor Erman and Dr. Blackman may be quoted to show the style of the piece:

I have come that I may cause thee to tread down them that are in their
marshes;

The lands of Meten tremble for fear of thee;

I cause them to behold Thy Majesty as a crocodile,

Lord of terror in the water, unapproachable.

I have come that I may cause thee to tread down them that are in the islands;

They that are in the midst of the Great Green Sea are aware of thy battle-cry.

I cause them to behold Thy Majesty as the Champion (Horus),
Who appeared gloriously upon the back of his victim.

I have come that I may cause thee to tread down the Tehenu;
The Utentiu are subject to the might of thy fame.

I cause them to behold Thy Majesty as a fierce-eyed lion,
While thou makest them to be corpses throughout their valleys.

I have come that I may cause thee to tread down the uttermost ends of the earth;

What the ocean encircleth is held in thy grasp.

I cause them to behold Thy Majesty as a lord of the wing (hawk)
Which seizeth on what he seeth according as he desireth.

Miss M. A. Murray's metrical rendering of a few verses may be added, to exhibit the fact that the original is really capable of poetical form in our speech:

I come and I cause thee to tread down the princes of Zahi,
Under thy feet have I cast them, their people and lands;
I cause them to see thee as Lord of the glittering sunbeams,
Striking them down with thy shafts like the death-dealing Sun.

I come and I cause thee to tread down the tribes of Rutennu,
Slain are their chieftains and leaders, their heads are brought low;
I cause them to see thee equipped with thy weapons of warfare,
Smiting the foe on their hills with thy God-given sword.

I come and I cause thee to tread down the lands of Mitanni,
Marshes and swamps of Euphrates resound to thy shout;
I cause them to see thee as Sebek, the Lord of the Waters (the crocodile).
Savage and fierce when he snatches his prey from the land.

I come and I cause thee to tread down the Isles of the Ocean,
Winging thy way as a hawk o'er the desolate sea;
I cause them to see thee as Master of battle and conquest,
Seizing all lands in thy grasp to the ends of the earth.

Such was Thothmes as he appeared to the people whose land he had glorified before all the world. If the ideal which they saw realised in him seems to our minds a meagre and barren one, let us remember that it was the only ideal of glory recognised in his time, and that he fulfilled it more perfectly than any other man of his race before or since. But let us remember also that Thothmes

was far from being merely the barren conqueror, who treads down under his feet the aspirations and the civilisation of other peoples that he may exalt his own personal glory; and that even when he was engaged upon the harsh trade of conquest, he set an example of gentleness and mercifulness that few of his kind have even tried to emulate. And let us not forget that the warlike record, which is almost all that has survived in words, is far from being representative of the greater part of his work. For that you have to look to the mighty fabrics which he reared in his land to the glory of the best that he knew, and whose fragments are beheld with wonder, if not with understanding, in our own land and in others to-day, and to the casual comments of his servants, who tell you what manner of man was their master.

Viewing him in the light that shines upon his figure from such things, one dimly sees the likeness of a man who may surely rank among the great ones of the earth, who was strong and brave when strength and courage were needed, but was not less tender and kind to weakness and misfortune, who held his kingship as a trust from what gods he knew, and strove to exercise it not for his own ease or aggrandisement, but with painstaking effort for the welfare of his people, and who tried to make the hearts of even the captives whom hard fate had appointed to toil for him as light under their burden as might be. No one imagines that Thothmes was perfect; his conduct with regard to Hatshepsut's memory would be sufficient disproof of such a supposition. But he was far in advance of his age in many respects, and in all the East of his time one will look in vain for a single figure worthy of being set beside the sturdy little figure of the greatest soldier and ruler whom Egypt ever bred.

CHAPTER XXVI

A PAUSE ON THE SUMMIT; AMENHOTEP II. AND THOTHMES IV.

Le Roi est mort; vive le Roi! Amenemhab puts it in his own way, after his eloquent description of the ascent of Thothmes III. to heaven: "When the morning brightened, the sun arose, and the heavens shone, King Aakheperura, Son of Ra, Amenhotep II., given life, was established upon the throne of his father, he assumed the royal titulary". The new king was soon to prove himself a good soldier; but there is little evidence of his having been anything more, and indeed with this reign and the next we are conscious of being in one of these periods of pause which often intervene between the times in which great events are happening and great men are directing them. Egypt is at the very height of her supremacy in the near east; but the men who are ruling her and controlling her powers are no longer of the calibre of Thothmes III. and his paladins. For twenty-six or twenty-seven years the destinies of the empire are in the hands of a king who was at his best on the battlefield, and was prouder of his physical strength than of anything else; for rather less than nine they were ordered by a gentle and pious monarch, delicate and slightly deformed; then they passed into the control of the man who seemed to gather up all the glories of empire into a final sunset splendour, before the twilight of the land, and of its gods, came on.

Promptly upon the death of the great king, the Asiatic provinces revolted. They had been quiet for a most unusually long time, and must have been feeling that life was a very flat business without the customary spring raiding,

"when kings go out to battle". Besides it was the traditional policy to take the temperature of the new king, so to speak, so that you might know how far it was safe to go with him. The plan had not succeeded very well with Thothmes; but who could tell whether it might not succeed with Amenhotep? So we find the young king early in his second year (his first of independent rule) on the old war-road in Palestine and Syria. Evidently, from the account of his movements, the revolt had been pretty general in northern Palestine and Syria, and, from the fact that he appears to have moved his army up by land, it appears that the Phoenician coast-towns must have joined in it. Our accounts of the campaign are confined to the statements on a single stele of pink granite from Karnak, and the information is deplorably scrappy, though picturesquely stated in one instance.

We are plunged at once into the midst of a battle at a place named Shemesh-Edom, apparently on the southern slopes of the Lebanon range, and we find Amenhotep leading his troops in person, as his father had done. He was a much bigger man than Thothmes, so far as physical strength went, as we see from his bragging about his bow which nobody else could bend; but the fact that he brags about such a subject suggests that he was a much smaller man otherwise. However, the situation in which he now found himself was precisely of the kind in which he shone. "His Majesty was in the city of Shemesh-Edom; His Majesty furnished an example of bravery there; His Majesty himself fought hand to hand. Behold, he was like a fierce-eyed lion, smiting the countries of Lebanon. List of that which His Majesty himself captured on this day: Asiatics, 18 living persons; 16 horses."

From the Lebanon, the king marched down to the crossing of the Orontes, probably near Sinzar, at which point he would turn eastwards towards the Euphrates; and here he had the chance of an irregular hand to hand scrimmage, which, no doubt, delighted his heart. It is one of the few incidents in which we find the old chronicle giving us details which make up a real picture. We can see the young king, glittering in all the splendour of his gold-inlaid royal panoply, steadying himself in the jolting

chariot, and shading his eyes with one hand, as he looks across the plain, quivering with spring heat, to the horizon, where he descries moving figures. Speedily they reveal themselves as rebel chariotry galloping towards him; Amenhotep leads a headlong charge against them, challenges their captain, and overthrows him. "First month of the third season, day 26; His Majesty crossed over the ford of the Orontes on this day, like the might of Montu in Thebes. His Majesty raised his arm, in order to see to the end of the earth; His Majesty descried some Asiatics coming on horses, coming at a gallop. Behold, His Majesty seized his weapons of battle, His Majesty fought like Set in his hour. They fled when His Majesty so much as looked at one of them. Then His Majesty himself overthrew their chief with his spear. Behold, he carried away this Asiatic, his horses, his chariot, and all his weapons of battle. His Majesty returned with joy of heart to his father Amen; and His Majesty made to him a feast. List of that which His Majesty captured on this day: His (the rebel chief's) horses, 2; chariots, 1; 2 bows, a quiver full of arrows, and a corselet."

Plainly, the encounter was nothing more than a chance skirmish; but one can see that the young knight-errant found more pleasure in such an adventure than in many more important things. Of greater moment was the capture of seven of the chiefs of the revolt in the land of Tikhsi. These unfortunates were reserved, as we shall see, for a fate quite unusual in connection with Egyptian warfare, and one which shows the rapid deterioration of Egyptian standards consequent upon habitual war. Meanwhile the city of Niy, famous from his father's days, if it had ever dreamed of revolting, had thought better of it, and opened its gates to the conqueror. "His Majesty proceeded by horse to the city of Niy. Behold, these Asiatics of this city, men as well as women, were upon their walls praising His Majesty." It is not difficult to imagine that had Amenhotep appeared at the head of a beaten army with pursuers behind him, his reception by the good citizens of Niy might have been slightly less exuberantly loyal.

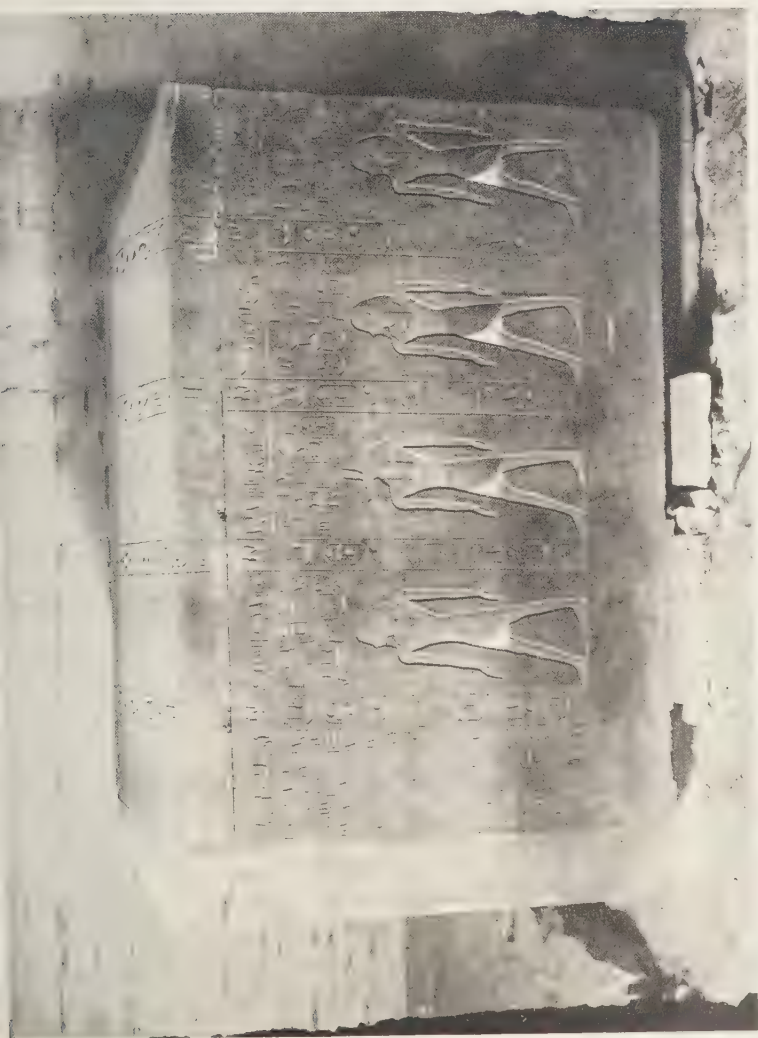
But there were other towns in the province which had

not been so loyal as Niy, or perhaps had not been able so well to conceal their disloyalty. Ikathi had been plotting against the garrison of Egyptian troops which held it for the Pharaoh. "Behold His Majesty heard saying that some of those Asiatics who were in the city of Ikathi had plotted to make a plan for casting out the infantry of His Majesty in the city, in order to overturn (those citizens) who were loyal to His Majesty." The garrison was at once relieved, and the plotters punished. It has been suggested, on the strength of references in one of the king's building inscriptions at Karnak, that Amenhotep now pressed on to the Euphrates, crossed it into Mitanni, and overwent his father's furthest limit. The relevant part of the inscription runs thus: "The chiefs of Mitanni come to him, their tribute upon their backs, to beseech His Majesty that there may be given to them his sweet breath of life. A mighty occurrence, it has never been heard since the time of the gods. This country which knew not Egypt beseeches the Good God (Pharaoh)." But this inscription is not an historical record in the sense of the records from which we have been quoting, but merely a piece of self-adulation of a somewhat fulsome and shameless sort on the part of the king, and it would be dangerous to base upon it a theory of any conquest beyond the Euphrates in this reign. Moreover, the relations between Egypt and Mitanni which we find existing in the next reign entirely forbid such a supposition. At the same time, it is certain that Amenhotep advanced far enough into Naharin to be able to set up his stele by the side of those of his father and Thothmes I., on the west side of the Euphrates, for Minhotep, overseer of works and king's scribe, tells us that he erected tablets for the king in the land of Naharin and in the land of Karoy.

From this point Amenhotep returned to Egypt, and made a triumphal entry, not to Thebes on this occasion, but to Memphis. He had made a tolerably clean sweep of the rebel chieftains, and had not spared their hoarded wealth, for his records state that he brought along with him as prisoners more than five hundred and fifty of the nobles of Retenu, and two hundred and forty of their

wives, besides 210 horses, 300 chariots, 1660 pounds of gold, and nearly 100,000 pounds of copper. The Asiatic provinces had paid somewhat dearly for the pleasure of twisting the lion's tail, and were now so completely satisfied that Egypt would fight if challenged that they made no further attempt to shake off the Egyptian yoke during the remaining twenty-five or more years of Amenhotep's reign.

It is possible that their pacific dispositions were encouraged, or their warlike tendencies rebuked, by the piece of barbarism of which the king was guilty on his return to his capital. He tells us himself, on his steles at Amada and Elephantine, of a performance which would have passed unnoticed among the brutalities of an Assyrian conqueror, but which strikes one with horror as coming from an Egyptian Pharaoh. Three quarters of a century before, his ancestor Thothmes I. had sailed northwards from his Nubian campaign with the body of one of the vanquished Nubian chiefs hanging head-downwards at the prow of his galley. It was a sufficiently disgusting exhibition of barbarism; but at least the man was dead before he was treated in so brutal a fashion. Now Amenhotep resolved to improve upon the beastliness of his great-grandfather. The seven Asiatic chiefs whom he had captured in the land of Tikhsi were hanged head downwards at the prow of his galley as he drew near to Thebes. Then, when he landed, the miserable wretches, more than half-dead already, were dragged into the temple of Amen, where the king had gone "with joy of heart" to give thanks to God, and Amenhotep massacred them with his own hand. The bodies of six of them were at once hanged upon the walls of Thebes; that of the seventh was reserved for a reminder to the tribes of the Sudan that it was not safe to provoke the anger of Pharaoh. "Then the other fallen one was taken up-river to Nubia and hanged upon the wall of Napata, in order to cause to be manifest the victories of His Majesty forever and ever in all lands and countries of the land of the Negro." It was a disgusting casting back to barbarism on the part of people who knew better, and it is impossible to imagine the king's father being guilty of such



SARCOPHAGUS OF THOTHMES IV

a baseness. Fortunately, we hear no more of such brutal practices, and we can only attribute this lapse to the callousness which is inevitably bred by long-continued warfare.

Incidentally, one may notice that these steles at Amada and Elephantine give definite disproof of the ridiculous idea, derived from the poetical statement of the Hebrew prophet Nahum (iii. 8), that Thebes had no fortifications, but depended for her defence solely upon the river Nile, and that the hundred gates of Homer's famous reference are those of her temple pylons and not of her ramparts. Homer, of course, disproved such an idea himself by telling us of the two hundred chariots and two hundred horsemen who poured out of each gate; but Amenhotep's statement is conclusive as to the fact that Thebes was a walled city, as, of course, it was bound to be in such an age. "One hanged the six men of those fallen ones", he says, "before the wall of Thebes." So King Amenhotep's senseless barbarity at least serves the purpose of giving the quietus to a vain imagining.

The body of the dead chief of Tikhsi was accompanied on its dreary journey south by an armed expedition, which the king does not seem to have accompanied in person. The result of the advance, whatever may have been the effect produced by the horrible spectacle of the rotting carcase of the Asiatic chieftain, was that Egyptian suzerainty, which Thothmes had extended to the Third Cataract, was now established as far south as the Fourth, and that Napata was henceforth regarded as the frontier guard of the Egyptian empire on the south. Minhotep, whom we have already quoted as to the stele which Amenhotep set up in Naharin, was responsible also for that erected by the Napata expedition "in the land of Karoy". The empire had now reached its limit in all directions.

The young king by no means intended to "hang the trumpet in the hall and study war no more" when he returned from his Asiatic campaign. On the contrary, the inscription on his Amada and Elephantine steles shows us that he looked upon this campaign merely as a good beginning, and meant, in all likelihood, to carry on the business of a yearly visit in force as regularly as his father had

done. "The return of His Majesty", says the inscription, "from Retenu the Upper, having overthrown all his enemies, extending the boundaries of Egypt, on the first victorious campaign". The repeated campaigns of his father, however, had a reason in the nature of things, and they had done the work so thoroughly that the single raid of Amenhotep proved sufficient to destroy in the hearts of the chiefs of Syria and Naharin any hopes of freedom that they might have cherished. Much to the king's disgust, no doubt, there were no further revolts to call for any more exhibitions of his prowess, and his first victorious campaign was also his last. One can imagine the reluctance with which he laid aside the mighty bow of which he was so proud, and realised that it was never again to scatter its deadly shafts among the ranks of the Asiatic chariotry.

His little bit of boasting about that redoubtable weapon may be quoted as a peculiarly frank and simple instance of that personal vanity in which the Pharaohs were never lacking, any more than other people, who are either too wise, or have too little opportunity, to say so much about it as the Pharaohs did. "Great in strength," says the Amada and Elephantine inscription, "whose like does not exist; of whom a second is not found. He is a king very weighty of arm; there is not one who can draw his bow among his army, among the hill-country sheikhs, or among the princes of Retenu, because his strength is so much greater than that of any king who has ever existed; raging like a panther, when he courses through the battlefield; there is none standing before him; an archer mighty in smiting; a wall protecting Egypt"—and so forth and on, for another twenty lines of print. After all it is quite guileless and harmless; and if, as Professor Breasted suggests, it was this bit of bragging on Amenhotep's part which gave Herodotus the idea of his delightful fable about the king of Ethiopia who challenged Cambyzes to draw his bow (iii. 21), then we owe the king a debt for his little vanity. But it gives us the scale of the man fairly conclusively.

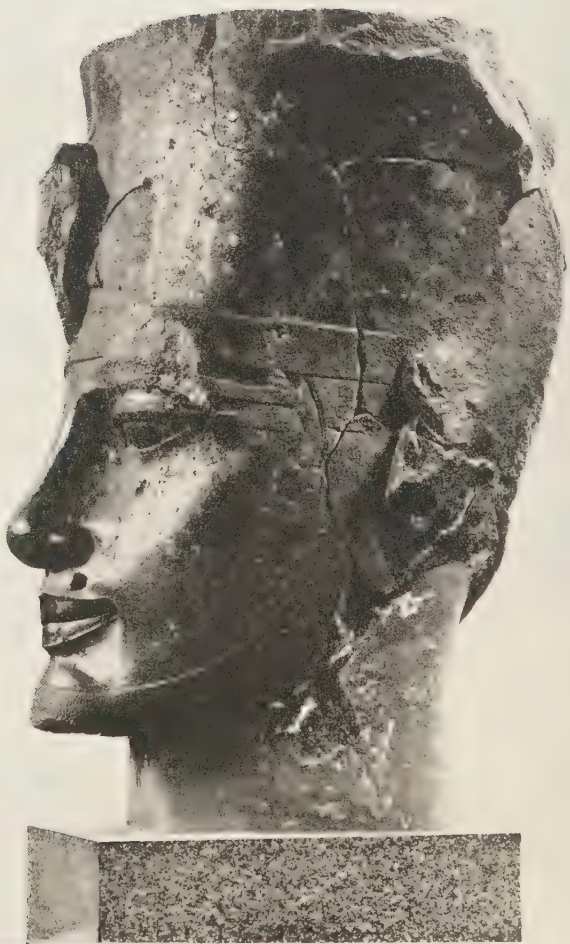
A pleasanter aspect of his character is suggested by his kindness to his father's old servant, our good friend Amenemhab, the elephant-slayer. "His Majesty", says the

veteran (and it is the last time we shall hear his voice) "noticed me rowing wonderfully with him in his vessel; 'Khammat' was its name. I was rowing with both hands at his beautiful feast of Luxor." Pretty much ceremonial rowing, one imagines, for Amenemhab was getting fairly ancient now; but it served its purpose. "Then I was brought to the palace, One caused that I should stand before the king Aakheperura. I bowed down immediately before His Majesty; he said to me, 'I know thy character; I was abiding in the nest, while thou wert in the following of my father. I commission thee with the office that thou shalt be deputy of the army as I have said. Watch thou over the picked troops of the king'." So old Amenemhab was provided for in his declining days with an office which, we may believe, was not designed to overtax his failing strength, and which enabled the old hero to show the king's guards how much better things used to be done in the army when he was young. It is a pretty incident in a reign which has not a great deal to lighten it up.

After a reign of which we can discern comparatively little beyond the two expeditions with which it began, Amenhotep died in middle age. He was buried in the Valley of the Kings in a rock-hewn tomb whose roof of blue is spangled with golden stars. During the panic over the tomb-robberies in Ramesside days his tomb was opened, and for nearly three thousand years he shared the company of several of the most famous of his successors, among them his son Thothmes IV., and his grandson Amenhotep III., Siptah, Merenptah, Ramses IV., Ramses V., and Ramses VI. This high-born company was allowed to slumber, though, alas! not undisturbed (for the tomb was rifled), until 1898, when M. Loret, acting upon information supplied from native sources, opened the tomb, and found Amenhotep with his guests. The king was still lying in his sarcophagus of quartzite sandstone, and though there was not much left of his funerary equipment, the redoubtable bow of which he was so proud had been spared by the robbers, and lay beside its owner. It bore the inscription, after the king's name: "Smiter of the Cave-dwellers, overthrower of Kush, hacking up their

cities . . . the great wall of Egypt, protector of his soldiers". In obedience to a very praiseworthy sentiment, an effort was made to leave the king undisturbed in his tomb, instead of removing him to the Cairo Museum. It was not crowned with very great success, however, for the tomb was violently entered in November 1901, and the remains of the dead king were very despitefully treated in the frantic search for non-existent treasure. Since that time Amenhotep has been left to sleep in such peace as is possible to him in the intervals of visits from the crowds of tourists, for the sake of whose morbid curiosity he is made the subject of a theatrical display which is no credit to the taste of those who originated it or of those who perpetuate it.

Between the outstretched paws of the Great Sphinx at Gizeh stands a huge red granite stele, nearly twelve feet high by over seven feet broad. The lower part of the inscription upon it has gradually flaked off under the action of the desert sand which has for ages blown across it and accumulated over it. In its present condition the inscription is not original, and was probably written at a comparatively late date in Egyptian history, some would say after the XXIInd Dynasty; but there can be little doubt that it gives a late version of a tale which was current in one form or another at a very much earlier date, and which concerns the Pharaoh who now succeeded his father Amenhotep II. The stele is crowned by a scene in which Thothmes IV. makes an offering to the god Harmakhis, who appears in the form of a sphinx. Below this scene comes the royal titulary, and the usual screed of fulsome adulation. Then follows the romantic story of the vision of Thothmes IV. when he was only Crown Prince. "When His Majesty", it says, "was a youth like Horus, the strippling in Khemmis, his beauty was like Harendotes (one of the titles of Horus as champion of his father Osiris), he seemed like the god himself. The army joyed in its love for him, and so did the royal family and all the nobles. His strength increased abundantly, and his might was renewed like the circuit of the sun. Behold he found his pleasure upon the hill slopes of the Memphite nome, both



HEAD OF AMENHOTEP III

W. F. Mansell

south and north, shooting at a target with copper shafts, hunting lions and wild goats, coursing in his chariot, with horses swifter than the wind; two only of his followers accompanied him, and no other soul knew of his going.

“Now, when his mid-day hour of resting his followers came, it was always at the shoulder of Harmakhis, on the sacred road of the gods to the necropolis, that he took it. Now the very great statue of Khepri stands in this place; the mighty, the splendid in strength, upon whom lingers the shadow of Ra. Now, on a day it came about that the Prince Thothmes came, coursing, at the noonday, and he rested under the shadow of this great god (*i.e.* under the shadow of the Great Sphinx). At the hour when the sun was in the zenith a dream seized upon him as he slept, and he heard the Majesty of this honoured god speaking to him with his own mouth, as a father to his son, and saying: ‘Behold me! Look upon me! my son Thothmes. I am thy father, Harmakhis, Kheper-Ra-Atum, who will give to thee my kingdom on earth, foremost among the living. Thou shalt wear the White Crown and the Red Crown upon the throne. The land shall be thine in its length and breadth, even all on which the eye of the Lord of All shines. The food of the Two Lands shall be thine, and the full tribute of all countries for length of days. My face is to thee, and my desire is toward thee. Thou shalt be my guardian, for at present I am ill at ease in all my limbs. The sand of this desert upon which I am has reached me; turn to me and cause to be done that which I desire, knowing that thou art my son, and my guardian. Behold, I am with thee, I am thy guide.’ When he had finished speaking, this prince awoke, with the words in his ears; he understood the words of this god, and he kept silent in his heart.” From this point onwards, the inscription is more or less mutilated, until it becomes illegible; but it obviously went on to tell how the prince cleared away the encroaching sand from the great image, and how Harmakhis established him in the kingdom.

This picturesque little tale which shows us that conditions at Gizeh were just the same three thousand years ago as to-day, when M. Baraize has just accomplished once

more the same task which Thothmes undertook at the command of the god himself, has been supposed to signify that Thothmes IV. was not at first destined to succeed his father, and that his elevation to the throne was the result of a palace intrigue, in which the priests of Harmakhis were accomplices. It seems a singularly slight foundation on which to rear such an edifice of supposition, and there is no other indication of any disturbance of the succession at this point. The natural sense of the tale is quite simple, and it is reasonable to suppose that it rests on a basis of fact. Nothing is more certain than that the Sphinx would need to be periodically cleared from the encroaching sand then as now, and nothing more probable than that a pious young prince, as Thothmes IV. proved himself to be all through his short life, would take upon himself the duty of clearing the image which was his favourite place for enjoying the mid-day siesta, and would consider himself specially favoured of the god in consequence of his piety.

Soon after his accession, the new Pharaoh was called upon to maintain Egyptian control in Naharin and Syria by force of arms. The northern dynasts had now been quiet for more than twenty years—time enough for the memory of the weight of Amenhotep's strong arm to have faded away—and the accession of a young and untried king offered too tempting an opportunity for the usual amusement for them to neglect it. Our sources for the campaign and its results are meagre and fragmentary. In a sorely mutilated inscription at Karnak, Thothmes mentions offerings to Amen of things "which His Majesty captured in Naharin the wretched, on his first victorious campaign"—a familiar phrase which suggests that he, like his father, cherished a hope, destined to remain unfulfilled as his father's had been, of continuing his adventures in the land of romance. One of the king's guardsmen, Amenhotep by name, mentions on his tomb stele that he was "Attendant of the king on his expeditions in the south and north countries; going from Naharin to Karoy behind His Majesty, while he was upon the battlefield".

Of the results of the campaign, we get a glimpse in the beautiful reliefs of the tomb of Khaemhat, who was

Treasurer under both Thothmes IV. and Amenhotep III. The king is there represented as seated under a canopy, with a number of splendid vessels of Asiatic work in gold and silver, and numbers of rings of these metals before him. Behind the pile, Asiatic princes "smell the earth"; and the inscription states that this is the "Bringing in of the tribute of Naharin by the princes of this country, in order to crave that the breath of life be granted to them. Obeisance to the great Lord of the Two Lands, when they come, bearing their tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands, saying: 'Grant us breath, which thou givest, O mighty king'." Thaneni, the old recorder of the campaigns of Thothmes III., who must have been eighty or more at the accession of Thothmes IV., under whom the tough old scribe took a census of the people and cattle of Egypt, has left us a similar scene; "Bringing in the tribute of Retenu, presentation of the northern countries, silver, gold, malachite, every costly stone of God's Land; by the princes of all countries. They come to make gifts to the Good God, to ask breath for their nostrils; by the real king's scribe, his beloved, commander of troops, scribe of recruits, Thaneni."

What fighting there may have been on the expedition is unknown; but there was some, for a tablet of the king in his mortuary temple at Thebes records the "Settlement of the 'Fortress of Menkheperura' (Thothmes IV.) with Syrians whom His Majesty captured in the city of Gezer". The name of Gezer, appearing here quite unexpectedly, suggests that the revolt may have extended much further south than was usual at this time. A stele in the Louvre (that of Semen) calls the king "Conqueror of Syria". The reassertion of Egyptian authority was at all events sufficiently thorough to permit of the usual supplies of cedar being brought in from Lebanon; for in his additions to the inscription of his grandfather on the Lateran obelisk Thothmes refers to "the great barge of the 'Beginning-of-the-River' named Userhet-Amen, shaped of new cedar which His Majesty cut in the land of Retenu". Beyond these fragmentary sources, we have no further information as to the Asiatic campaign of the new king.

He had not long returned to Thebes, when he was

called southward by news of a rebellion in the ancient province of Wawat in Nubia. "One came to say to His Majesty: 'The Negro descends from above Wawat; he hath planned revolt against Egypt. He gathers to himself all the barbarians and the revolvers of other countries.' " The Konosso inscription, which gives us this dramatic introduction to the campaign, proceeds to tell us how His Majesty made a great oblation to Amen, and besought him that he would lead him on a goodly road to do that which his *ka* desired. "After these things", it proceeds, "His Majesty proceeded to overthrow the Negro in Nubia; mighty in his barge as when Ra shows himself in the celestial barque. His army of his victories was with him on both banks . . . and the ship was equipped with his attendants, as the king proceeded up-stream like Orion. He illuminated the South with his beauty; men shouted because of his kindness, women danced at the message." It seems rather a flamboyant description of the passage of a sickly and deformed young lad at the head of a punitive expedition, and one may doubt if the joy of Nubia was so excessive as the Konosso inscription states. All went well, however, or at least so we are told; and if there was not a great slaughter of the rebels it was because they all very prudently ran away. "The fear of him entered into every body, Ra put the fear of him among the lands like Sekhmet in the year of the dew (an allusion to the ancient legend of the Destruction of Mankind). He found all his foes scattered in inaccessible valleys." Such is the official account of the Nubian raid.

There is extant, however, one sentence which makes one wonder if this Nubian expedition was actually so triumphantly successful as the Konosso inscription makes out. On that one of his great boundary steles at Tell el-Amarna which makes the solitary extant reference on the part of Akhenaten to the strife between himself and the priesthood of Amen, the reformer-king makes a reference to this campaign which is of great interest, and deserves more attention than it has received. ". . . priests", says the king, "more evil are they than those things which king . . . heard, more evil are they than those things which Menk-

heperura heard . . . in the mouth of negroes, in the mouth of any people". That is all, and we are left to speculate as to what may have been those dreadful things which Thothmes IV. heard in the mouths of negroes on an occasion which can only have been this expedition of the Konosso inscription. Speculation is of course futile; we have to wait until some other inscription shall solve the riddle for us; but something strange must have happened on that expedition to have left such an impression on the Egyptian mind for half a century. Thothmes has not chosen to tell us what it was, and we may never know; but one would like to hear the inside story of it all from an unofficial observer. One way or another it was enough to shock the Egyptian imagination, which was not usually easily disturbed.

The next event of the short reign was one which was destined to be fraught with consequences of much greater moment to Egypt than any arising out of the Nubian revolt. It must for some time have been becoming manifest to the Egyptian statesmen who guided the councils of Pharaoh that a new situation was arising in the Asiatic provinces. A rude, gigantic shadow began to be cast across Naharin and Syria, and to darken the bright outlook of empire in those parts. It is only now that we are beginning to understand a little of how important was the part which the intervention of the Hittites in the politics of the Near East must have played, and how completely it upset the old familiar combinations of the past. These rude highlanders from Anatolia, though they had made friendly overtures to Thothmes III. when he was at the height of his Asiatic triumphs, were plainly an intrusion upon the scheme of things which Egypt had planned that must be reckoned with and provided against. If the Great Kheta, as the Egyptians called them, were going to push southwards, it was time for the older nations to be setting their houses in order. Besides the Hittites, there were already signs of the fact that Assyria was not going to be content forever with the position of inferiority in which she had hitherto been held by the claims of Mitanni and Babylon, which both professed to regard her as their vassal, but

intended to claim a free hand for herself in the struggle for empire.

There were two conceivable policies before the Egyptian statesmen. On the one hand, they might accept the professedly friendly hand which the Great Kheta had held out on more than one occasion, and come to an agreement with these northern intruders as to the delimitation of their respective spheres of influence. On the other, they might adopt a system of alliances with the older states against the encroachments of the Hittites, and possibly of Assyria also, though it is probable that Assyria did not enter so much into their calculations at this point, being herself rather under a cloud for the moment. One can see reasons why the Egyptian court was disinclined to deal with the Hittites. They were comparatively new comers upon the stage of Naharin; they were representatives of a civilisation which, to the Egyptian mind, must have seemed little better than absolute barbarism. Even the Syrians, with their gaudy woollens and their greasy beards, seemed repugnant to the Egyptians, not to say ridiculous; but the Syrians were cultured gentlemen compared with these rough highlanders, with their ridiculous hats, their heavy coats, and their clumsy boots with upturned toes. The Mitannians were not so very long established in their land either; but they were of a very different type from these barbarians from the north, and their kinship with the Kassite monarchs of Babylon, whose hold on a city which might count centuries with Egypt itself gave them rank and class, must have counted for a good deal in Egyptian eyes.

One way and another, and whatever may have been the reason, Egypt turned away from the possibility of an agreement with the Hittites, if it ever occurred to her guiding minds, and chose the alternative of trying to counter the Hittite menace by alliance with one of the established powers which were actually in the field; and for her purpose she chose Mitanni. It was perhaps not unnatural that she did so. Her frontiers marched with those of Mitanni, and, though there had been repeated scuffles between the two powers on the frontier line, there

had been no such settled hostility as to render a rapprochement impossible. Mitanni felt the same dread of the Hittite advance which was beginning to cast its shadow across Egypt. Furthermore, Mitanni was at this moment at the height of what was doomed to be a very brief prosperity, and her king Shaushshatar had not long since given Assyria a decided set-back and a great humiliation by capturing her capital city Ashur and carrying away its palace gates of gold and silver to his own uncouthly named capital of Washshukkani.

Altogether, we need not wonder that the Egyptian counsellors of the young Pharaoh, who could only judge by the facts as they appeared to be at the moment, and not by the clearer view of them which three millenniums have afforded us, turned to Mitanni rather than to Hatti, and sent their ambassadors to Washshukkani rather than to Hattushash. The form which was taken by their proposals for an alliance was that which was customary in those days, when the princesses of the various royal houses were the pawns which were moved to and fro upon the chessboard as the interests of the game of politics demanded. The reigning king at Washshukkani was Artatama I., and to him Thothmes sent an embassy asking for the hand of his daughter. One may be quite sure that Artatama, seated as he was on a throne which was never so firmly established as to be without the need of a prop, was overwhelmed with joy at the prospect of such a marriage for the young Mitannian princess, which carried along with it the much more important prospect of the support of Egypt against the dangers which were already beginning to gather around his kingdom on every side. It was necessary, however, to his own royal dignity, and to the modesty of the young lady, that a decent show of reluctance should be made. Accordingly for some time a little comedy of feigned reluctance was played by the Mitannian court, though one imagines that Thothmes was not tortured by any very dreadful pangs of uncertainty as to the final reception of his addresses.

Between forty and fifty years later, Tushratta, the grandson of Artatama, writing to Akhenaten, the grandson

of Thothmes IV., offers to the Egyptian king a delightful fairy tale as to the progress of the marriage negotiations, at which the Egyptian king must have smiled one of his rare smiles, as he realised the contrast between Tushratta's pretty picture and the actual positions of the figures in it. "When Thothmes IV., father of Nimmuria (Nebmaatra, Amenhotep III.), sent to Artatama, my grandfather, and made request for the daughter of my grandfather, the sister of my father, for himself, he sent five times, six times, but he never gave her. Moreover, he made request a seventh time, and then, driven by circumstances, he (Artatama) gave her." Dignity having been conciliated by the sevenfold request, the Mitannian did what we may be sure he intended all along to do, and the princess was duly dispatched into Egypt doubtless with an ample retinue of maids of honour, such as her niece Gilukhipa took with her in the next reign. On her arrival in Egypt, she took the Egyptian name of Mutemuya.

This marriage was, so far as is known, the first instance of an Egyptian Pharaoh wedding the daughter of a foreign sovereign, and the consequences of the alliance which it carried along with it between Mitanni and Egypt proved to be of the utmost importance, not so much to Mitanni, whose doom can have been delayed only a little by it, as to Egypt. So far as appears, Mitanni got no help from Egypt in the troubles which speedily began to gather about her, save for the gold which was so shamelessly asked for by the Mitannian king, and so liberally supplied by the Pharaoh. But Egypt, in thus committing herself to Mitanni, definitely took the wrong turning in her foreign policy, and, to quote Lord Salisbury, "put her money on the wrong horse". Mitanni's day was almost done. At the best, the kingdom was an artificial creation, with no real root in natural conditions; and the conquering energy which must presumably have existed in the original invaders who established it, and at the same time set up the Kassite dynasty in Babylon, had now worn itself out in both cases. One is tempted to speculate on the difference which might have been made to the destinies of the Near East, if Egypt had done at this stage what she did, too late, nearly a

century and a half later, and had now come to an agreement, not with the worn-out Mitannian kingdom, but with the active and aggressive Hittite confederation.

It is conceivable, of course, that even an alliance between Egypt and Hatti might not have sufficed, in the end, to check the growing power and ambition of Assyria; but at least the growth of Assyrian aggressiveness would have been checked for a considerable period, with results surely beneficial to the whole of the near eastern world; while the struggle with Nineveh, when it did come, would have been faced by an Egypt which was not already exhausted before it began. As it was, Egypt and Hatti played the game exactly on the lines which best suited their great enemy. They wore out each other's strength by a determined and long-continued struggle, which really destroyed the hope of a future for the Hittite confederation, and left Egypt, with only a shadow of her former strength, to meet an adversary whose fierce energy would have taxed her powers even at her best. But we are not entitled to blame the Egyptian statesmen of the time of Thothmes IV. for their blindness to developments which no one, unless endowed with the gift of prophecy, could have foreseen at the time. It is possible also that Mitannian influence may have had something to do with the religious movements in Egypt which determined the helplessness of the country before the advances of the disintegrating elements which broke up her Asiatic empire; but this point must be discussed in its own place, and, in any case, it is probable that this aspect of Mitannian influence has been greatly over-rated.

One immediate consequence of the alliance with Mitanni was that an immediate stop was now put to all Egyptian schemes of further advancement in the eastern part of her Asiatic sphere of influence. There could be no more crossings of the Euphrates. Mitanni presented no bar to Egyptian expansion northwards, and indeed would probably have been well pleased to see her ally turning her energies in that direction; but expansion northwards meant conflict with the Hittites, and, though this was fated to come later, it was no part of the policy of Egypt to

provoke it at present. Thus the chapter of Asiatic adventure which had followed upon the Expulsion of the Hyksós was now definitely concluded. Egypt's Asiatic empire had reached its furthest limits, and the only question now remaining was whether she could continue to hold what she had gained or not.

Thothmes was not destined to leave behind him any great public work in any sense comparable to that which his grandfather had accomplished. But the one great monument of his time exhibited the young king in a very pleasant light, though (perhaps rather because) it was not altogether his, but only the completion of another's work. This was the erection of the great single obelisk, now at the Lateran in Rome, which, as we have already seen, Thothmes III. had begun shortly before his death. To our minds, it seems only natural and proper that Thothmes IV. should honour his grandfather as he did by giving him the credit for the great shaft when he erected it after its thirty-five years of neglect; but it should be remembered that such was by no means the usual practice of Egyptian Pharaohs, who, with all their good qualities, were more inclined to steal the credit of the monuments of their ancestors without the slightest excuse than to bestow it in a case where there was a good excuse for withholding it. Indeed Thothmes IV., and perhaps Seti I., are the only Pharaohs one can think of who can be credited with sufficient unselfishness for such an act. And if he did add a somewhat lengthy prayer to the existing inscription of the old conqueror, begging for long life to himself, who can blame him?

Unfortunately, though he honoured his ancestors, his days were not destined to be long in the land which God had given him. His mummy suggests considerable delicacy; and he had probably reigned for somewhat less than nine years when he was gathered to his fathers, leaving his young son by Mutemuya, a boy not yet in his teens, to succeed him, and to be known to fame as Amenhotep III., the most perfect representative of the splendour of an Egyptian Pharaoh at the culmination of Egypt's imperial destiny.

His tomb in the Valley of the Kings was discovered during the course of the T. M. Davis excavations in 1902, and was cleared for Mr. Davis by Mr. Howard Carter. It had been thoroughly rifled by tomb-robbers at an early date, as was evident from an inscription of Horemheb written in ink on the wall of a chamber of the tomb: "Command of His Majesty, to commission the fan-bearer on the king's right hand, Meya . . . to restore the burial of King Menkheperura (Thothmes IV.) justified, in the august house on the west of Thebes". Several fine faience vases were, however, found in it, together with fragments of tapestry, and the front of a chariot, of wood, overlaid with linen covered with gesso, which is wrought with battle-scenes in low relief.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE GOLDEN EMPEROR; AMENHOTEP III.

OCCASIONALLY in the history of a kingdom or an empire, we meet with a figure which seems to sum up in itself all the glories and splendours of the land which it represents; a glittering figure whose magnificence almost blinds one to the actual facts which are beneath the gorgeous appearance, and which seems to represent all those tendencies towards the "lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, and the pride of life" that have been working in the race from which he springs. Not uncommonly, and quite naturally, such figures often appear when the actual greatness which has given the opportunity for their development has really almost worked itself out, and when the path which has hitherto led up to the summit of achievement now passes it, and begins to slope downwards towards the setting sun. Solomon expresses in characteristically gaudy fashion the ideals of the short-lived Davidic monarchy, just before it goes into eclipse at the disruption of the kingdom; Nebuchadnezzar, those of the almost equally short-lived Neo-Babylonian empire before its rapid decline. Ashurbanipal's magnificence and splendid patronage of literature cannot hide the fact that Assyria's bolt is shot; while, coming to more modern days, the splendours of Versailles in the days of *Le Roi Soleil* mask, and also hasten, the rottenness which brings about the disastrous downfall of the French aristocratic system of the monarchy. It seems as if the fulness of the bloom in the case of the human plant must come, as with its humbler prototype, just before its fading.

Egypt, like these other nations, was now to give the

world an illustration of the culmination which goes before the decline, in the person of the young boy who now succeeded Thothmes IV., and whose reign of thirty-six years was a blaze of such magnificence as perhaps the world has seldom seen. So far as can be judged, Amenhotep III. was by no means worthy of a place among the great kings of the ancient world; but at least he could outshine the most magnificent of them all when it came to a question of material splendour. He was the Golden Emperor of the Old World—more of a reality than he of whom the Spaniards dreamed. Within fifty years of his accession, the empire which his forefathers had founded was rapidly crumbling into ruin between pertinacious assaults from without, and religious dissensions and inertness within; but there was peace in his time, or at least such an approach to peace as enabled him to close his ears to any appeal for strenuous action; and when he was gathered to his fathers there was no outward evidence, so far as Egypt was concerned, that the house of his magnificence was based upon the sand, and that the storm was near.

The boy who now succeeded to the throne, on the death of Thothmes IV. in the flower of his age, cannot have been in his teens when he became "the Good God" to his subjects. He was, of course, half Mitannian by blood; but in the fulness of his splendour at a later date in his reign he revived and made conspicuous the claim, which Hatshepsut had already made for herself, that Amen-Ra was not only in theory, but in actual fact his father by Queen Mutemuya. Of course, every Pharaoh, since the time of the Priest-kings of the Vth Dynasty, was *Son of Ra*; but in the cases of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep this claim to literal divine descent was emphasised in the most crudely materialistic fashion, and the scenes of the divine birth of the Pharaoh were sculptured on the walls of the temple at Der el-Bahri and that at Luxor respectively, those relating to Amenhotep being close imitations of the Der el-Bahri reliefs of Queen Hatshepsut, with little other variation than the requisite changes of Queen Aahmes into Queen Mutemuya, and Queen Hatshepsut into Amenhotep III. This insistence on his divine descent did not

foreshadow any excessive religiosity on the part of the new king, who seems, so far as the material for forming a judgment exists, to have been more concerned with his own personal pleasures and amusements than with anything else; but at all events the new king did his best to live up to the greatness of his descent, so far as display could go.

One who had been trained from infancy to regard himself as destined to be the supreme human being on earth, and the incarnate expression of godhead, was under a strong temptation to regard the world as his oyster, and to consider himself as hampered by none of the limitations to self-indulgence which restrict the pleasures of other less superior persons. The profound peace with which his reign began, and which endured for at least thirty out of his thirty-six years, broken only by a single expedition to Nubia, must have prompted him in the same direction. There was practically no call to warlike activity during all the early part of his reign, save in the case of this Nubian military promenade; and though there were grumbles from the north during his latter years, they were never so loud or so insistent that a king whose natural disposition to ease had by that time become ingrained sluggishness could not find an excuse for disregarding them. Thothmes III. would have been on the war-path with a tenth part of the incitement which merely caused Amenhotep III. to turn on his other side and murmur "a little more sleep and a little more slumber"; but then Thothmes belonged to a different age, and to an earlier stage in the evolution of his dynasty. There may be something also in the suggestion that the physical energy of the dynasty was now distinctly on the decline. For one hundred and seventy years it had run a course characterised, on the whole, by an astonishing level of efficiency and vigour—a fact all the more remarkable when the habitual in-breeding of the Egyptian Pharaohs is realised; but now there seem to be indications that a decay of energy had begun. The physical weakness of Thothmes IV., the early death of Amenhotep himself, and the eccentricity, coupled with genius, of his son, all point in the same direction. Possibly, instead of blaming Amenhotep for his apparently selfish view of the duties of

his great office, we should rather praise him for the fact that, with so much to make him otherwise, he lived a life which, if inert, seems at all events to have been respectable.

It is possible that some of the credit for this ought to be conceded to his famous wife. In the second year of his reign, when he may have just been entering his teens, he was married to a lady who has shared in the latter-day notoriety of her unhappy son, and has had greatness thrust upon her to an extent which she can scarcely have anticipated, accustomed though she was all her life to the white light that beat upon the greatest throne of the old world. On the one hand, she has been described as the ruling influence in her husband's life and the formative power in the religious convictions of her son, the real source of all the spiritual upheaval which was so disastrous to Egypt's imperial sway; on the other, Professor Peet tells us that she is "one of those characters to whom history has probably done more than justice", and allows her little influence or none, either in her husband's life or in the religious revolution wrought by her son, though he concedes to her, once she is safely dead, the title of "a remarkable woman". The truth probably lies somewhere between these two extremes, and Queen Tiy was neither the managing stateswoman and spiritual genius whom some would have her to be nor the comparative nonentity to whom Professor Peet's grim insistence on only the barest possible interpretation of facts would reduce her, but a clever and attractive woman, who exercised a considerable influence over a rather lazy and ease-loving husband, and had her own share in giving a definite turn to the religious ideas of her son, who, we may admit, did not need any very keen spur to be applied to his natural predispositions.

I have said that Amenhotep "was married" to Tiy, rather than that "he married her", for the simple reason that a marriage between two children, neither of whom had reached their teens, can scarcely have been a matter of much individual choice on the part of either of the persons concerned, except as a mere boy-and-girl fancy. The earlier maturity of the East may admit of motherhood at the age

of thirteen; but even this fact does not entitle us to imagine that there was a great deal of personal initiative on the part of the young king in the choosing of his bride. Later, indeed, Tiy came to exercise a considerable influence over her royal husband; but that is another story. When the marriage took place, therefore, and a royal scarab was issued as a kind of proclamation of the event, we need not believe that the proclamation was really the defence of his wife by the boy-bridegroom against possible criticism; and to talk of him replying "with unflinching boldness" to such criticism seems a trifle ridiculous. The scarab certainly has as its object to set Queen Tiy where criticism dared not touch her; but it is difficult to believe that it was Amenhotep himself, and not rather his counsellors, the men who had made the match, who prompted its issue.

One way or another, however, the match was made, and there can be no doubt about its having been one which called for some explanation. For thought it is an exaggeration to say that the new "Great Royal Wife" of the young king was, as Breasted has said, "a woman of low birth", there was yet sufficient difference in the status of bridegroom and bride to render the match quite unusual. Pharaohs had often enough before, no doubt, fallen in love with young ladies who were not of royal rank, and placed the objects of their affections in their harems as secondary wives. But Amenhotep's bride, far from being regarded as a secondary wife, was raised to the highest position as Queen of Egypt, her name appears in royal proclamations on the same footing as that of her husband, and when at a later date a royal princess of Mitanni was brought down to Egypt to be married to the king, it was Gilukhipa, and not Tiy, who passed into obscurity in spite of her brigade of ladies-in-waiting.

The young woman who thus attained to a position which no other woman not of royal blood had reached was the daughter of two well-known figures of the Egyptian court, Iuaa, who was priest of the god Min and "Master of the Horse and Chariot-Captain of the King", and his wife Tuiu, who was "Royal Handmaid", or, as we might put it, Mistress of the Robes. Her position, therefore, though



1. HEAD OF QUEEN TIY, SINAI

From Sir Flinders Petrie's "Researches in Sinai" (John Murray)

2. STATUE OF AKHENATEN

sufficiently beneath that of her bridegroom as to make their union on a completely equal footing remarkable, was by no means a lowly one, and there was none of the King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid business about the wedding. In fact, we may easily believe that the parents of the young queen had been able to command sufficient influence among the royal counsellors to secure their adoption of the policy of a marriage which, having regard to the extreme youth of both parties to it, can scarcely be supposed to have originated with themselves. The marriage scarab of the second year which asserted the claims of Queen Tiy runs as follows: "Live the Horus, the strong bull, uprising in Truth, the Lord of the Double Crown, establishing laws, making ready both plains, Horus on Nubti, great and mighty, smiting the Setiu, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-Maat-Ra, Son of Ra, Amenhotep Heq Uast, granted life eternally, and the Great Royal Wife Tiy, who liveth. The name of her father, Iuaa, the name of her mother, Tuiu. She is the wife of a king strong and famous, his southern boundary as far as the land of Karoy, the northern as far as the lands of Naharin." There was thus conveyed a definite hint that, though the queen was not of royal blood, no nonsense would be tolerated as to the acknowledgment of her position.

Speculation as to the nationality of this lucky damsel has been considerable, and it has been asserted that she was of Asiatic descent, possibly North Syrian, possibly Mitannian. Absolutely no evidence exists to prove either of these suppositions. In 1905 the mummies of Prince Iuaa and his wife were discovered by Mr. T. M. Davis in their undisturbed tomb in the Valley of the Kings, and were submitted to Professor Elliot Smith for examination. His verdict with regard to Tuiu is that "there is nothing in her appearance to suggest that she was not Egyptian". The judgment as to Iuaa is more qualified: "The form of the face (and especially of the nose) is such as we find much more commonly in Europe than in Egypt; but we should not be justified in concluding that it is not Egyptian, for we do meet with similar proportions in many people supposed to be Egyptian". No suggestion has as yet been

made that Prince Iuaa was an European, which is the only alternative suggested by Professor Elliot Smith's examination. The fact that Iuaa is called Prince of Zahi (Phoenicia, or the Lebanon district) in an inscription on a small bowl, does not imply any more than that he held office as governor of that region. Altogether Sir Gaston Maspero's opinion of 1907 does not seem to require any revision in the meantime: "Until we have new evidence, I shall consider Iouiya, Touiyou, and Tiya as being natives of the country wherein they lived and where their mummies have been found".

Whatever her origin, Tiya quickly acquired a remarkable influence with her young husband. So far as one can judge, this cannot have been due to any very special beauty on her part, for the extant portraits of her do not suggest her as one of the women who have made history on account of their personal charms. The Sinai head, whose authenticity is unquestionable, shows a sufficiently piquant face, touched, perhaps, with a slight suggestion of peevishness about the mouth. The head in ebony and gold from the Fayum, which has been attributed to her frequently in recent times, is by no means so well authenticated, and the attribution is vehemently questioned by several good authorities. It represents a much more striking personality, somewhat hard to reconcile with the Sinai head, though comparisons are difficult in the case of two works so widely differing in style, material, and workmanship. Neither head is beautiful, and the suggestion of peevishness in the Sinai head becomes much more strongly accentuated in the Fayum portrait. One would say that the latter was faithfully reproduced from a woman who was no stranger to suffering. However this may be, there can be no doubt as to the position which she quickly came to hold in the Egyptian state. Professor Peet has questioned this. His argument is this—that the fact of Amenhotep's association of his wife's name with his own in public proclamations means nothing particular in view of the continuance of the practice by his successors, and that the other fact that Tushratta of Mitanni lays special stress on Tiya's knowledge of the course of events is also of no special

significance in view of the unusual position which Amenhotep had accorded to his wife. "To argue from the remark that Tiy would remember his friendship with her husband to the belief that Tiy wielded great influence over her husband or her son is the simplest of *non sequiturs*." No comment seems necessary, as it is perfectly obvious that Professor Peet, in accusing others of a *non sequitur*, is himself arguing in a circle.

Amenhotep's successors doubtless copied his example; but that does not alter the fact that he was the first Pharaoh to adopt the practice of associating his wife with himself in public proclamations. It was natural for others to follow the practice once it was begun; but it was not natural to begin it without some special reason, which is surely to be found in the king's devotion to the lady whom he thus honoured. Furthermore, Tushratta's statement in the Amarna correspondence amounts to a great deal more than Professor Peet allows. "Whatever were all the words of your father, Nimmuria, which he wrote to me," writes Tushratta to Amenhotep IV. (Akhenaten), "Tiy, the Great Wife of Nimmuria, the beloved, your mother, she knows all about them. Enquire of Tiy, your mother, with regard to all these things." This is much more significant than the mere telling Akhenaten that Tiy knows all about the friendship between the two kings, which Professor Peet would have to be all that is in it. If words mean anything, it means that Amenhotep had no secrets from Tiy in his correspondence with his most important ally. It is hard to see what clearer proof of the queen's influence with her husband could be given.

The full development of the influence of the queen, however, must have come later, though the young bridegroom conceded public equality with himself to his bride from the beginning. Doubtless the world looked very fair and bright to them as they faced it together, boy and girl, with a very imperfect understanding of all the weight of responsibility which lay upon their shoulders, but a very clear sense of all the opportunities for delight which their position, the highest in the ancient world, offered to them. To begin with, there was halcyon weather in the political

world. It was almost an unheard of thing that a new Pharaoh should come to the throne, and a mere boy at that, without the usual revolt of the Asiatic provinces being staged to test how far it was safe to go with him; but the sky was perfectly calm to the north during all the earlier part of Amenhotep's reign, however dark it may have grown in his later years. It is probable that the policy of Thothmes III. was now bearing fruit, and that the Syrian chiefs were now, to a great extent, men who had been educated in Egypt, at the "Castle-in-Thebes", and were too conscious of the vast power of their suzerain to risk anything against him—at least until some favourable opportunity should arise.

On the southern frontier, however, there was a splutter of rebellion, which necessitated the presence of Amenhotep himself. His stele at the First Cataract tells us that in his fifth year, "one came to tell His Majesty: 'The foe of Kush the wretched has planned rebellion in his heart' ". Amenhotep, who had now attained the early maturity of the east, took a personal share in the crushing of the revolt. His army was made up partly of native Egyptians, and partly of Negroes, who, as we have found ourselves, made fine fighting material; "their hearts were eager to fight quickly, beyond anything"—a thoroughly characteristic description of Sudanese troops, who are never so happy as when there is the prospect of an immediate fight. The actual fighting took place at Ibhet, somewhere above the Second Cataract, and the viceroy of Nubia, Mermes, who commanded the black battalions, has left us at Semneh an inscription telling how "The might of Nebmaatira (Amenhotep III.) took them in one day, in one hour, making a great slaughter. . . . Ibhet had been haughty, great things were in their hearts; but the fierce-eyed lion, this ruler, he slew them by command of Amen-Atum, his august father; he it was who led him in might and victory." There follows the grim "butcher's bill" of the captives and the slain, set down in the most business-like fashion, "as per margin". "List of the captivity which His Majesty took in the land of Ibhet the wretched: Living negroes: 150 heads; Archers: 110 heads; Negresses: 250 heads; Servants of the negroes:

55 heads; Their children: 175 heads; Total 740 living heads. Hands (of the slain) 312. Added to the living heads: 1052."

King Amenhotep won his spurs, or perhaps it would be more truthful to say, was blooded, in this easy victory. "His Majesty smote them himself with the mace that was in his hand." The steles of the First Cataract and Konosso sing the praises of his valour and enterprise. "His Majesty led on to victory, he completed it on his first victorious campaign. . . . He (the foe) knew not this lion which was before him; Nebmaatra was a fierce-eyed lion, he seized the wretched Kush. All the chiefs were overthrown in their valleys, cast down in their blood, one upon another." "His Majesty returned, having triumphed on his first victorious campaign in the land of Kush the wretched; having made his boundary as far as he desired, as far as the four pillars which bear the heaven. He set up a tablet of victory as far as 'Pool-of-Horus'; there was no king of Egypt who did the like beside His Majesty, the mighty, satisfied with victory, Nebmaatra is he." It seems rather a grandiloquent description of a punitive expedition to crush a few negro tribes, and King Amenhotep, who can scarcely have been much more than sixteen years old at the time, scarcely fills the part of the "fierce-eyed lion" in one's imagination. However, the journey was not unprofitable, for a great quantity of gold-dust was collected from the now submissive rebels, and was afterwards utilised for the adornment of the great pylon which the king was then building for the west front of Karnak, and which now forms the back of the great Hypostyle Hall of Seti and Ramses II. "Its pylons reach heaven like the four pillars of heaven; its flagstaves shine more than the heavens, wrought with electrum. His Majesty brought gold for it in the land of Karoy, on the first victorious campaign, slaying the wretched Kush."

It would be of considerable interest if we could identify the Pool of Horus, and the other localities mentioned in the descriptions of this campaign; but this seems impossible, unless the tablet which the king set up there should some day come to light. It is evident that the

advance was pushed far south, perhaps beyond the cataracts altogether, though the Fourth Cataract remained the actual frontier for administrative purposes. The Bubastis inscription, which is held to refer to this campaign though no royal name is given, offers an unusually picturesque touch in its description of the lookout on the royal galleys watching for the appearance of "The Height of Hua", some well-known landmark which was to be the limit of the advance. "The north wind was very high for the coming forth of the Height of Hua; the coming forth of the height was in safety sailing . . . south of the Height of Hua, resting in the camp there." One can picture the galleys driving southwards before the stiff north wind, and the lookout straining his eyes beneath the bellying square sail to see the distant peak rising above the desert like the topsails of a ship at sea.

"His first victorious campaign", say the inscriptions, as they always do at the beginning of a new reign. But again the first victorious campaign was also to be the last, and Nubia gave no further trouble during the reign of Amenhotep. Neither was there any occasion for armed intervention in Syria or Naharin. It appears from a letter of Ribaddi of Byblos to Akhenaten, that Amenhotep did once visit Sidon—"Moreover, since the time when your father returned from Sidon, since that time the lands have attached themselves to the Sa-Gaz"; but there is no evidence that this was a military expedition, and it is not unlikely that it may have been merely one of the hunting trips in which he accounted for some of his bag of 102 lions. There was no open revolt in either Syria or Naharin, and Amenhotep was apparently not the man to trouble himself about affairs unless there was a clamant necessity—and not always even then. "Truly", writes poor anxious Ribaddi later to Akhenaten, "thy father did not march out, nor did he inspect the provinces and his feudatories".

Being thus deprived of the man-hunting which was the noblest and peculiar sport of kings in the ancient world. Amenhotep turned with zest to the next best, big-game hunting, and, though his exploits in this arena cannot for a moment compare with those of some of the Assyrian kings,

who were peculiarly expert, shall we say? in drawing the long-bow, they were yet highly respectable. From days which we should call childish, but which in Egypt were those of early maturity, Amenhotep was "a mighty hunter before the Lord". In his second year (the year of his marriage with Tiy, when the youthful bridegroom might have been expected to be more careful of himself), there was a magnificent round-up of wild cattle somewhere in the Delta, in which the twelve-year-old Pharaoh distinguished himself amazingly, if his hunting-scarab tells the truth. Its story is so vivacious, and affords us so early an example of the king's habit of associating his wife with himself on every public occasion, that it will be as well to quote it in full.

"Year 2, under the Majesty of King Amenhotep, given life, and the Great King's Wife, Tiy, living like Ra. Marvel which happened to His Majesty. One came to say to His Majesty: 'There are wild cattle upon the highlands, as far as the region of Sheta. His Majesty sailed down-stream in the royal barge, Khammat, at the time of evening, beginning the goodly way, and arriving in safety at the region of Sheta at the time of morning. His Majesty appeared upon a horse (actually in a chariot, as riding in our sense of the term was yet unknown in Egypt), his whole retinue being behind him. The commanders and the citizens of all the retinue (literally 'army') in its entirety, and the children with them, were commanded to keep watch over the wild cattle. Behold, His Majesty commanded to cause that these wild cattle be surrounded by a wall with an enclosure. His Majesty commanded to count all these wild cattle. Statement thereof: 170 wild cattle. Statement of that which His Majesty captured in the hunt on this day: 56 wild cattle. His Majesty tarried four days to give fire to his horses (*i.e.* to let them recover spirit by resting). His Majesty appeared upon a horse a second time. Statement of these wild cattle, which he captured in the hunt: 20 wild cattle. Total: 75 wild cattle."

The scribe's arithmetic seems to have failed him slightly; but the picture which he presents is vivid and real all the same. King Amenhotep, one imagines, would have been quite at home as a teller of fisherman's stories, when

he could do so well with his first hunting scarab. But wild cattle were only a whet to his appetite, which could only be satiated upon a royal quarry. Accordingly we find that lion-hunting was the relaxation of the first ten years of his reign, and that he was as successful in this risky sport as he had been in the chase of the wild bull. Ribaddi's letter suggests that he may have travelled into Naharin or Northern Syria in search of his prey; while Nubia would also in those days provide him with sport. Following his usual custom, when he had completed ten years of lion-hunting, the king issued another hunting scarab, giving a brief summary of his doings against the king of beasts: "Live the Horus, the strong bull, arising in Truth, Lord of the Double Crown, establishing laws, making ready both plains. Horus on Nubti, great and mighty, smiting the Setiu, King of Upper and Lower Egypt. Nebmaatira, Son of Ra, Amenhotep Heq Uast, granted life, and the Royal Wife Tiy, who liveth. Reckoning of lions brought by His Majesty in his shooting by himself, beginning in the first year up to the tenth year, lions, terrible, 102." And again one marvels, though, to be sure, the exploits of Amenhotep, on scarabs or elsewhere, seem humble and modest compared with those of such a champion as Tiglath-Pileser I., who claims to have killed 120 lions on foot in his youth, and 800 from his chariot! "There were giants in those days"—even in the tales they told.

Unquestionably, however, Amenhotep's exploits in the field, even if his bag was only a tenth of what he claimed, and the rest fell to his "army", must have made a forcible impression upon his people. It has been suggested that the impression was one which tended to lower the dignity of the Pharaoh-ship, and to bring down the Son of Ra to the level of mere mortal humanity. "This lion-hunting, bull-baiting Pharaoh is far indeed from the godlike and unapproachable immobility of his divine ancestors. It was as if the emperor of China or the Dalai Lama of Thibet were all at once to make his personal doings known on a series of medals." To say this, however, is, on the one hand, to exaggerate the inhuman unapproachability of the earlier Pharaohs, and, on the other, to underestimate the awe

which the account of feats apparently superhuman would tend to produce on the public mind. The unapproachable immobility of Amenhotep's divine ancestors was, in fact, a remarkably brittle thing, and from the very earliest days of the united kingdom we have evidence that Pharaoh had no hesitation in unbending on occasion, and liked just as much as any mere human being *desipere in loco*. Sneferu getting rowed about in his barge by twenty pretty girls clad in fishing nets, to dissipate his *ennui*, Senusert I. chaffing the returned prodigal Sinuhe in a somewhat elephantine fashion, Thothmes III. running away for his life from the enraged elephant whose trunk Amenemhab slashed—there is not much of the divinity that doth hedge a king about any of these great men on occasion, and one questions if the mighty feats of lion-slaying which were recorded of Amenhotep would not tend rather to increase the reverence with which the common people, if they believed in the literal truth of these astonishing stories, regarded their own particular "Good God". The king who insisted, as Amenhotep did, on his actual generation by Amen was not the man who would have allowed of any admissions which would have diminished the awe with which his god-head was regarded; and when he issued these statements of his prowess we may be sure that he never dreamed, any more than did his people, of any breaking down of the old theory of royal divinity, which he had in fact emphasised.

Prominent as was the place which sport had taken in these early days of his reign, we are not to imagine that Amenhotep was merely a self-indulgent *roi fainéant*, and that he had no time to spare for the weightier duties of state. His duty to the provinces he did neglect, and the result was disaster to his empire; but his duty to Egypt itself, at least in the sense in which all the great kings before him had regarded duty, he performed with a thoroughness which yielded to that of none of his predecessors. If it was, as the practice of the Pharaohs indicates, the accepted duty of an Egyptian king to glorify his land by the erection of as many splendid buildings as his years would allow of, or the genius of his architects devise, then he stands in the very first rank of Pharaohs, for there is scarcely

another king who has left us so many, or so beautiful remains of his devotion to the gods of his native land as he, even although the most magnificent of all his works has almost entirely vanished from the face of the earth under the greedy plundering hands of some of his successors. Indeed, the most important extant likeness of him, the colossal quartzose sandstone head now in the British Museum, does not in the least suggest weakness of character, but rather considerable force, coupled with reserve. It was the misfortune of Egypt that this force did not find its outlet in the direction which would have preserved her empire for her, but rather in a display of unbounded magnificence at home, and a personal self-indulgence which cut him off, an old man, before he was fifty. After all, the accomplishment of Solomon of Israel, on a smaller scale, was much the same as that of Amenhotep, a fact which has not prevented him from being consecrated in the national history as the Wise King.

In the tenth year of the reign, a new link was added to the chain which now united Egypt and Mitanni, for Shutarna of Mitanni, who had now succeeded the coy Artatama, sent down into Egypt his daughter, Gilukhipa or Kirgipa, to be the wife of his ally. The Mitannian princess arrived with a huge retinue, which included no fewer than 317 maids of honour, and it can be believed that the splendour of her reception was in proportion to the magnificence of her train; but her arrival made no difference whatsoever to the supreme position of Queen Tiy. Amenhotep, according to his custom, issued a marriage scarab to commemorate the arrival of his new queen, much as a modern king might issue a Court Circular; but the scarab pays more attention to Tiy than to Gilukhipa, who figures, after due honour has been done to Tiy, as a "marvel brought to His Majesty from Mitanni"!

"Year 10, under the Majesty of the Living Horus, the Son of Ra, Amenhotep III., Ruler of Thebes, who is granted life; and the Great King's wife, Tiy, who liveth; the name of her father is Iuaa, the name of her mother, Tuiu. Marvels:—His Majesty brought the daughter of the Prince of Naharin, Satarana, Kirgipa, and the headwomen of her harem, Women, 317." Possibly poor Giluk-

hipa did not yet understand enough Egyptian to realise the extraordinary nature of the proclamation which told the Egyptian people of her marriage; but no doubt some kind friend or other would underline the facts for her, and one wonders what the poor girl thought of such a reception.

Whatever she may have thought, she made no outward sign, not even, it appears, to her father or her brother in Mitanni. She subsides into obscurity, from which she only reappears for a moment in a casual mention of her name by her brother Tushratta, who had succeeded to his father Shutarna. "With Gilukhipa, my sister," he writes, "may it be well", and he sends her a few articles of personal adornment as a gift: "And for a present to Gilukhipa, my sister, have I sent to her one breast-ornament of gold, one pair of golden ear-rings, one *mashu* of gold, and a jar full of good oil". Once again she appears, after the death of Amenhotep, in the third letter of Tushratta to Akhenaten. This is the famous letter in which the good Tushratta tells the fairy-tale of the number of times Thothmes IV. had to beg for a wife before Mutemuya was granted to him, and though he does not name Gilukhipa he tells the same story about her, and Amenhotep's having to beg for her, as he had just done about Mutemuya. Then the poor lady disappears altogether from the stage on which, in spite of her brilliant *entourage*, she had been cast for so obscure a part, and we see her no more. Tiye, whose supremacy had not been threatened for a moment, remains the dominating figure of the Egyptian court.

Nevertheless, the Mitannian kings do not seem in the least to have been disturbed by the eclipse of the princess whom they had sent down so well-equipped to take her place on the throne of Egypt. Later in the reign, Amenhotep, now getting a little past his best, has a fancy for another Mitannian bride, and writes to Tushratta to ask that his daughter, the princess Tadukhipa, niece of the eclipsed Gilukhipa, may be sent down to him. Tushratta is delighted at the suggestion, and sends down Tadukhipa at once, making a merit for himself out of his immediate concession of the request—such a contrast, he says, to the reluctance which his father and grandfather had displayed

when asked for Mutemuya and Gilukhipa. He certainly makes a great to-do about the gold which he wishes to receive from his brother-in-law-son-in-law in return for the new wife; but Tadukhipa is offered to her elderly bridegroom with the true heavy father's blessing. "To my Brother whom I love will I give my daughter to be his wife. May Shamash and Ishtar go before her, and may they cause her to satisfy the expectations of my Brother's heart."

Tadukhipa disappears almost as completely as her aunt had done. She was duly married to Amenhotep, for her father, in his sixth letter to his doubly dear relative of Egypt, writes: "With Tadukhipa, my daughter, thy wife, whom thou lovest, may it be well". She was left a young widow on the death of Amenhotep, and was then married to Akhenaten, the extraordinary jumbling up of relationships involved being a thing which did not in the least shock the Egyptian mind; then she also vanishes forever. The attempt to prove her to have been Akhenaten's beloved and beautiful wife Nefertiti has no real evidence to support it.

Amenhotep seems to have had a predilection for marrying an aunt and a niece out of the same family, for we know that he was also wedded to the sister of Kadashman Kharbe, King of Babylon, and that he wished to add the Babylonian king's daughter to his collection of foreign royal ladies. Kadashman Kharbe, however, was by no means so complaisant as his royal cousin of Mitanni, and he expressed his doubts as to the treatment which his sister had received at the Egyptian court with a bluntness which made Amenhotep very angry. "You wish, indeed, my daughter for your wife," he wrote, "while at the same time my sister, whom my father gave to you, is there with you, and no one has yet seen her, whether she is alive or dead". The Babylonian kings, of course, duly came down from their high horse when gold was wanted from Egypt, as it always was before long, and Kadashman Kharbe himself had, as we shall see, his own matrimonial suggestions to make, which were received with chilly *hauteur* by the Egyptian Pharaoh; but the suggestion which is given

by the marriage letters of Amenhotep is that the king was a very much married man, and that the fact was not always to his comfort. His collection of royal princesses was, no doubt, a very fine one; but he had his own difficulties over it, and not all of the royal ladies who found themselves snubbed by Queen Tiy were so self-effacing as Gilukhipa.

But the matrimonial adventures of Amenhotep have diverted us from the real course of events in his reign, and after all, they appear to have counted for very little in the king's life. From first to last, Tiy held her place unchallenged in his heart and life. In the meantime, he had been preparing for himself and his queen, to say nothing of the other royal ladies who made up his harem, a new palace on the western bank of the Nile at Thebes. The ruins of it still survive, and have been twice investigated within recent years. The results of the excavations have, on the whole, been disappointing, and have tended to confirm the old statement of Diodorus that the Egyptians, who regarded their tombs as eternal dwelling-places, looked upon their houses only as temporary lodgings. When exploration deals with Babylonia or Assyria, it is the palace of the king which almost invariably yields the most remarkable results, and the inscriptions of the royal builders exhaust their vocabulary in attempting to describe the glories with which the king has surrounded himself in his new house; "A palace for my royal dwelling-place, for the glorious seat of my royalty, I founded for ever and splendidly planned it. I surrounded it with a cornice of copper. Sculptures of the creatures of land and sea carved in alabaster I made and placed them at the doors. Lofty door-posts of costly wood I made and sheathed them with copper, and set them up in the gate. Thrones of costly woods, dishes of ivory containing silver, gold, lead, copper and iron, the spoil of my hand, taken from conquered lands, I deposited therein." An Egyptian king will often match this when he is describing his temple-building; never, I think, when he is telling about his palace.

The palace of the most gorgeous of Egyptian Pharaohs seems to have been a mud-brick erection, wood-framed,

with wooden columns, porticoes and galleries; and it was probably low and rambling, covering a considerable area, as it would need to do if it had to house all Amenhotep's foreign princesses with their hundreds of maids of honour. "This was a palace of mud, it is true," says Dr. H. R. Hall, "but it was beautifully decorated, and we must imagine it as a painted summer-house of cool passages and loggias, with light roofs upheld by carved wooden pillars on stone bases, and tent-like awnings of brightly coloured stuffs to keep off the sun." One would fancy it to have been a comfortable home-like building, which aimed, not so much at imposing grandeur, as at fine proportion and tasteful decoration. The Egyptian always had a passion for nature, and loved to have natural scenes brought indoors for the delight of his eye; and this taste of his found expression in Amenhotep's palace, as it did later in that of his unfortunate son. The scanty fragments of painted pavements and ceilings which have survived show us waterfowl swimming through clumps of lotus, and pigeons fluttering against a sky of blue, and suggest a scheme of decoration which must have been quiet and restful. The furnishing of the rooms would, of course, be carried out with the best that Egyptian craftsmanship could accomplish in design and workmanship, and the standard reached by such works of art as the Golden Throne of Tutankhamen shows us what we might have expected had the furniture of Amenhotep's time, when both taste and execution were at a higher level, been preserved.

Close to the palace, the king gave orders for the making of an artificial lake, an example on a great scale of the ornamental water which the Egyptian noble loved to have in his pleasure; and it was perhaps for the sake of having plenty of room for the excavation of this lake that he chose the west bank for the site of his palace, instead of the eastern side, where the crowded city left less space for such developments. The completion of the lake was celebrated in another of the royal scarabs, whose inscription runs as follows: "The eleventh year, the third month of the harvest season, the day one, under the Majesty of (Usual titles of Amenhotep) Amenhotep III., given life;

and the Great King's Wife Tiy, who liveth. His Majesty commanded that there should be made a lake for the Great Royal Wife Tiy, living, in her city of Zarukha; its length to be 3700 cubits, its breadth, cubits 700. His Majesty made the festival of the opening of the lake in the third month of the harvest season, on the sixteenth day, when His Majesty sailed in the royal dahabiyeh *Tehen-Aten* (Aten-Gleams), in its cabin."

The creation of an ornamental lake over a mile long and over a thousand feet broad was no very mighty engineering feat, though it must have been a somewhat costly little luxury; but the really interesting thing about its construction is the revelation which it gives us of the astonishing efficiency of the Egyptian organisation of labour. This piece of work was actually begun and finished, ready for the use to which it was to be put, in fifteen days, pretty much about the time in which modern engineers would have succeeded in assembling their material for the job! This, however, was merely normal Egyptian practice, and while we may think it remarkable, we are not surprised. The phenomenal matter which makes this lake of Zarukha memorable has nothing to do with its construction, but with the name of the barge in which the royal couple sailed over the waters of their new toy. The name of the Aten, which was written on the gilded barge Aten-Gleams, was destined to become one of the most familiar of sounds in Egypt ere long, and to be of the most direful import to the great majority of the people. Had the shouting thousands who watched the glittering procession as it glided along, reflected in the waters of Zarukha, realised all that that name was to mean of apostacy from the old gods of Egypt, and of loss of that empire in whose glories they vaguely rejoiced, the day of Amenhotep's innocent water-festival would rather have been a day of mourning. But the future was hid, and no man saw the cloud like a man's hand which was soon to spread and darken until it overwhelmed the ancient religion of Egypt in a twilight of the gods.

The building of the palace and the construction of the lake were, of course, merely personal matters, designed, if

the scarab is to be believed, simply to show the king's devotion to his wife. They represented but a tiny fraction of the energy which was now called into play for the glorification of the gods of the land. As it had been in the days of Queen Hatshepsut, and still further back in the almost legendary days of Zeser, so now the demand of the ruler of the state for the rearing of great buildings produced men of genius who were ready to meet the highest requirements of a sovereign who, on his part, never stinted them in the means which were necessary for the accomplishment of their designs. At the head of the band of skilled architects, sculptors, and craftsmen who now toiled to make Egypt all glorious within, was Amenhotep, son of Hapu, who occupies in the reign of his namesake the same position as that which Senmut held in the days of Hatshepsut, and Imhotep in those of Zeser. Fortunately we can still see the ugly capable face of this ancient sage, fashioned to the life in a portrait statue which is one of the most living examples of the Egyptian sculpture of the Empire period.

Amenhotep, son of Hapu, belonged to an ancient noble family, who had been nomarchs of Athribis, and he held the office of Chief of the Prophets at the temple of his native town. This was an hereditary rank, and his official position at court was at first merely that of Inferior Royal Scribe, so that he had to work his way up, first to the rank of Superior Royal Scribe, and finally to that of Minister of all Public Works, in which he made for himself so great a reputation. While he was in his second position of Superior Royal Scribe, he had in hand the organising of the whole service of the frontier guards and custom officials, as we shall shortly see. His account of his duties as Minister of Public Works is far from being as clear as one could wish, and he leaves us in much doubt as to which of the great works of the reign is actually to be attributed to him, and in especial as to whether or no he is the author of the most famous of all Egyptian statues, the Memnon Colossi. His description of his work in his highest office, given on one of his statues at Karnak, runs thus:

"My lord a third time favoured me; Son of Ra,

Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes, the Sun-God is he to whom hath been given an eternity of his jubilees without end. My Lord made me chief of all works. I established the name of the king forever, I did not imitate that which had been done before. I fashioned for him a mountain of gritstone, for he is the heir of Atum. I did according to my desire, executing his likeness in this his great house, with every precious stone, enduring like the heavens; there was not one who had done the like since the time of the founding of his Two Lands. I conducted the work of his statue, immense in width, taller than his column, its beauty outshone the pylon. Its length was 40 cubits in the august mountain of gritstone at the side of Ra-Atum. I built an eight-vessel, I brought the statue up-river; it was set up in this great house, enduring as heaven. My witnesses are ye, ye who shall come after us; the entire army was as one under my control, they wrought with joy, their hearts were glad, rejoicing and praising the Good God. They landed at Thebes with rejoicing, the monuments rested in their places forever." It is sad to think that his "forever" has been so completely falsified by the ravages of time that we cannot actually point to any outstanding work of Amenhotep's time as being undoubtedly his. The Colossi of Memnon, which have often been attributed to him, are certainly not the works referred to in the foregoing extract, which were executed for Karnak, on the east bank of the Nile, and not for the Mortuary temple on the west bank. This need not hinder them from being actually his work all the same; but we have no certainty on the matter.

When the famous Minister for Public Works had reached his eightieth year, he was honoured by his master with the grant of a statue in the temple at Karnak, which bore the following inscription: "Given as a favour of the King's Presence to the temple of Amen in Karnak, for the hereditary prince, count, sole companion, fan-bearer on the king's right hand, chief of the king's works, even all the great monuments which are brought, of every excellent costly stone; steward of the King's—daughter of the King's—Wife, Sitamen, who liveth; overseer of the cattle

of Amen in the South and North, chief of the prophets of Horus, lord of Athribis, festival-leader of Amen, Amenhotep, son of Hapu, born of the lady Yatu, justified". On the statue, Amenhotep prays that he may attain the age of 110 years, which represented to an Egyptian the sum of earthly felicity; for his own sake we may hope that he did not learn the misery of a granted prayer, and see the Egypt which he had done so much to make splendid falling to ruin, under the stress of religious animosities within and the pressure of enemies without.

In after days this great sage of Imperial Egypt gradually grew into continually increasing fame, in the same fashion as his great predecessor Imhotep; and at last, in the Ptolemaic period, he was elevated to divine rank, as Imhotep had been. The process of making a wise man into a god had already made considerable progress by the time of Manetho, for Josephus, in that curious jumble of history and legend which he offers us in his tract against Apion, tells us that king Amenhotep "communicated his desire (to see the gods) to his namesake Amenophis, who was the son of Papis, and one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurity".

With such a skilful adviser at the head of his Public Works Department, the realisation of King Amenhotep's desire for the glorification of his land proceeded apace. Of the great works of the time which have survived, though in a more or less ruined condition, probably the most striking and attractive is the temple of Luxor, which, though added to but not improved by Ramses II., offers us in its most admirable features one of the finest examples of the architecture of the Empire, before it had degenerated into the coarseness and pretentiousness which disfigure even Karnak, and much more Medinet Habu. The beautiful colonnades of the forecourt, with their papyrus-bud capitals, are perhaps the finest of their kind existing in Egypt, and offer a standing refutation of the thesis, often advanced, that Egyptian architecture was only imposing because of its mass, and was incapable of grace. Those who have formed their conception of Egyptian columnar archi-

ture from the clumsy sausages of Medinet Habu ought to realise that these belong to the decadence, and that we have no more right to judge Egyptian architecture by such monstrosities than we have to form our estimate of the qualities of Greek sculpture from the bulging muscles of that over-fed strong man, the Farnese Hercules. Both in the individual proportions of its members, and in its general effect, the colonnade of the forecourt at Luxor is singularly graceful and satisfying to the eye. The small grey granite column now in the British Museum, from a lost temple of Amenhotep III. at Memphis or Heliopolis, will afford to readers who are unable to visit Luxor an adequate illustration of how graceful and simple the Egyptian column had become under the skilful hands of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, and his skilled assistants.

In front of the forecourt at Luxor, King Amenhotep now proceeded to rear what was meant to be a great hypostyle hall, similar to the world-famous one at Karnak. Only the great columns of the nave were ever completed by Amenhotep, and the religious troubles which followed his reign hindered further work being done, though Tutankhamen, Horemheb, Seti I., and Ramses II. have all done a little work, and have left their names upon Amenhotep's great design. The fourteen columns, which still stand in two rows, are of the open-flower type, while we may assume that the lower columns of the aisles would have been of the bud pattern, as this contrast between nave and aisles became the regular practice hereafter. The columns of the nave are nearly 52 feet in height, and the stately double row, with its wonderful play of shadow and light, is the most striking and attractive feature of the great temple as viewed from the Nile. It must have been the intention of the king and his architects to carry out in this noble hall the arrangement of a lofty nave rising a stage higher than the aisles on either side, the difference in height between the nave and aisles being used for the creation of a clerestory above the aisle roofs, pierced with windows whose stone gratings allowed of the lighting of the whole building. This arrangement was the one afterwards carried out, as may be seen to-day, in the great

Hypostyle Hall of Karnak, and is, indeed, the first example of the fundamental principle of cathedral architecture.

Karnak, also, owed a great deal to Amenhotep, who reared as its west front the huge pylon which now forms the back of the later Hypostyle Hall of Seti I. and Ramses II. The great pylons of Karnak are sufficiently imposing even now, in their gaunt and naked ruin; but as they first came complete from the hands of their builders and decorators they must have been of a magnificence which fairly dazzled the eye. King Amenhotep tells us, in his Karnak building inscription, of steles of real lapis lazuli, great doors of electrum (gold-silver alloy), great obelisks of red granite, and a garden "sweet in fragrance of all flowers". In front of the pylon towered the vast statue of himself about which Amenhotep, son of Hapu, has already told us, and which rose to a height of 67 feet. It was to be surpassed, ere long, by the twin monsters who were to sit in front of the king's mortuary temple on the west bank; but up to the time of its erection nothing so gigantic in the way of a representation of the human figure had ever been attempted, and one does not wonder at the pride which the man who wrought it took in his handiwork.

The new splendours of Karnak were finally linked with those of Luxor by an avenue bordered by rows of ram-headed sphinxes, each of which held a statue of the king between its forepaws. This avenue ran for a mile and a half through the garden which had been laid out between the two temples, and must have formed a most impressive and stately approach. The king tells us with pride that he used something like 1200 pounds of malachite in the inlay work of his additions to Karnak, and no doubt all other costly materials were lavished in equal profusion upon the work.

To the south-west of the great temple of Amen at Karnak, Amenhotep now reared a temple to the goddess Mut, the consort of the Theban god, which was surrounded on three sides by a sacred lake in the form of a horseshoe. The temple of Mut was linked up with that of her consort Amen by another avenue of sphinxes.

In all this work on the east bank of the Nile there begins to appear under Amenhotep, or perhaps we should

rather say under his namesake, the son of Hapu, the conception of the capital city as a unity whose main features ought not to be regarded as isolated units, but as members of a great complex organisation, which has to be viewed in its completeness. Amen had for many centuries had his temples at Luxor and Karnak, and Mut and Khonsu, the other members of the Theban Triad, their sacred shrines; but all these were now drawn together into organic unity by means of the avenues which kept them in direct touch and architectural relationship with one another. King Amenhotep did not only add to the existing temples new features which vastly increased their glory, he succeeded in weaving them together into one gigantic architectural conception, whose glory, as thus unified, was infinitely greater than that of any of its individual parts. There were other Pharaohs who at a later date added to Karnak, and in lesser degree to Luxor, greater buildings than Amenhotep ever reared; but it was in his reign that the idea was first wrought out which made Thebes, as Breasted calls it, "the first monumental city of antiquity".

But the work on the east bank of the river was only a part of that which Amenhotep lavished upon his capital. We have seen that his palace occupied a site on the western bank; his mortuary temple had perforce to be on the same side of the stream. If we are to credit his own description of it, it is probable that this building, which has vanished almost as absolutely as the Labyrinth from the face of the earth, was the most gorgeous, even if it were not the largest of his works. The great inscription from which we derive our knowledge of it (together with much interesting detail regarding work at other temples) was engraved upon a magnificent stele of black granite, 10 feet 3 inches high, which stood originally in the finished temple. Amenhotep's son Akhenaten, in the fervour of his reforming zeal, almost entirely obliterated his father's memorial inscription from the stele. Some sixty or seventy years later, Seti I., with that modest piety which characterised this good king, restored the inscription, so far as he could, adding only a simple note: "Restoration of the monument which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatra (Seti I.),

made for his father Amen-Ra, king of all Gods''. His sculptors made some glaring errors in their attempt to follow the lines of the old document; but on the whole they were wonderfully successful.

Seti's grandson, Merenptah, was the next to meddle with Amenhotep's record. He demolished Amenhotep's temple to obtain material for his own, and, taking the great stele, he engraved upon the back of it his own hymn of victory after his battles with his Libyan and Asiatic enemies, making in the song that mention of the Children of Israel which has ever since been a bone of contention among scholars. The stele was then set up in his temple, where it remained till Petrie discovered it fallen down in 1896, and gave its contents to the world.

Amenhotep's original inscription tells us the story of his piety towards Amen, in respect of the buildings and other offerings which he made to the god. The description of the great mortuary temple occurs near the beginning, and runs thus: "Behold, the heart of His Majesty was satisfied with making a very great monument; never has happened the like since the beginning. He made it as his monument for his father, Amen, Lord of Thebes, making for him an august temple on the west of Thebes, an eternal everlasting fortress of fine white sandstone, wrought with gold throughout; its floor is adorned with silver, all its portals with electrum; it is made very wide and large, and established forever; and is adorned with this very great monument (the stele of the inscription). It abounds in royal statues of Aswan granite, of costly gritstone, of every splendid costly stone, established as everlasting works. Their stature exceeds the heavens, their rays shine in the faces of men like the sun when he shines early in the morning. It is supplied with a 'Station-of-the-King', wrought with gold and many costly stones. Flagstaves are set up before it, adorned with electrum; it resembles the horizon in heaven, when Ra rises therein. Its lake is filled with the great Nile, lord of fish and fowl. Its storehouse is filled with male and female slaves, with children of the princes of all the countries of the captivity of His Majesty. Its storehouses contain all good things, unnumbered. It is

surrounded with settlements of Syrians, colonised with children of princes, its cattle are like the sand of the sea-shore; they make up millions."

Such was a great temple of Thebes in the days when the might of Egypt had reached its apogee. One could wish that Amenhotep had been a little more precise in his description of the various features of his temple, and that instead of grandiose comparisons of them to the heavens and the sun shining in the morning, he had told us exactly what they were, and what was their size; but he was not writing for the information of scholars, but for the expression of his own glory, and we must be thankful that he has told us so much. He has said enough to let us see that such a temple was one of the most magnificent things on which the sun ever shone. With its silver floors, and its cedar gates overlaid with bronze, inlaid with gold, its mighty statues, its tall flagstaves with their crimson pennons, and its steles encrusted with gold and precious stones, the spectacle which it presented as it glittered in the blazing sunshine of Egypt, under a sky of cloudless blue, must have been inconceivably gorgeous. The Greek was to teach the world how to do the thing with a purer taste, and, with less display of wealth, to create a house of God which should make a stronger appeal by its sheer beauty than the Egyptian temple could ever make with its magnificence; and yet what would not one have given to be able to see Amenhotep's great fane as it was when he looked upon it, and saw it to be very good, and said, with a sigh of satisfaction, "It is made very wide and large, and established forever".

Alas for the fallibility of human forecasts! The splendid temple lasted for not much more than a century and a half. Merenptah was doubtless a good king to Egypt, saving his country more than once from foreign invasion; but one finds it hard to forgive him for the destruction of what must have been one of the most splendid monuments that even imperial Thebes ever saw. All that remains to-day of the great temple is the pair of grim and battered statues which sit, as they have sat for three thousand three hundred years, with hands on knees, gazing across the unchanging river to the east and the sunrise, and the

enormous sandstone stele, once encrusted with gold and precious stones, which once marked the "Station-of-the-King" referred to in the inscription, the spot where Pharaoh stood as High-Priest during the temple services, and which now lies in the sand a few hundred feet behind the Memnon colossi.

One of the interesting points in the king's description is his mention of the fact that a colony of Syrian prisoners, among whom were the children of the northern princes, was established in connection with his temple. It is evident that the policy of Thothmes was still continued, and that the sons of the local chieftains were being brought down to Egypt for their education, in order that when they succeeded to their fathers they would govern according to Egyptian ideas.

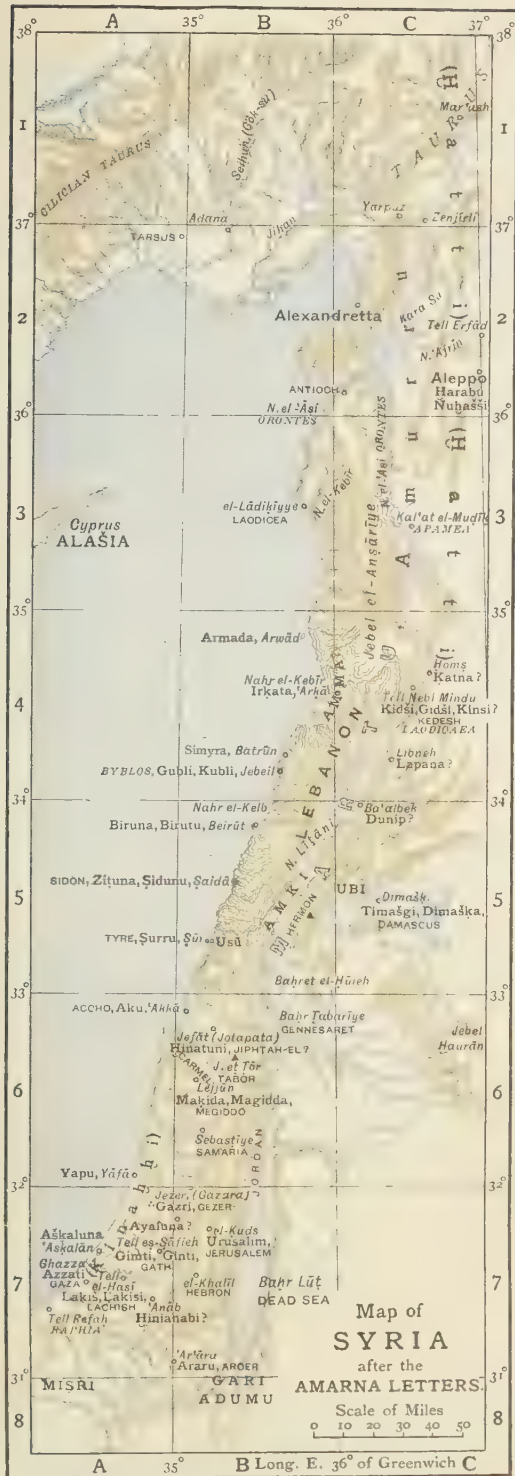
Immense as was the amount of building which the king accomplished in Thebes and its neighbourhood, this by no means represented the whole of his building activity. His architects and masons were hard at work all over the country, and temples were springing up, or old shrines were being enlarged, in almost every important city of the realm. Of great interest are the temples which he erected in Nubia, at Soleb and Sedeinga. That at Soleb is the largest Egyptian temple ever built in Nubia, being over three hundred feet in length, and it was held by the king to be of such importance that he made a personal visit to Nubia in order to be present at the dedication ceremonies. With its two great pylons and its two hypostyle halls, it must have impressed the Nubians very forcibly with the power of an overlord who could accomplish such wonders at such a distance from the seat of his government. How great was its splendour, we may perhaps best judge from the two superb statues of lions in granite, which now adorn the Egyptian gallery of the British Museum, and which were the work of Amenhotep, though they were subsequently usurped by Tutankhamen, during his short reign, and were last of all removed from Soleb to Gebel Barkal (Napata) by the Ethiopian Pharaoh Amenasru whose cartouche still appears on the breast of one of them. The extraordinary repose and dignity of these two great works

of art, the perfect subordination of detail to general effect, the simplicity of the means by which the impression is produced, entitle them to rank very high among the treasures left us by ancient art. They have few superiors in the animal sculpture of any age. Yet these were destined for the adornment, not of a temple in the capital of the realm, but of one in a far-off provincial town! Such a fact suggests very eloquently the remarkably high standard of Egyptian sculpture during the reign of Amenhotep.

The Sedeinga temple was comparatively a small one; but its interest arises from the fact that it was built in honour of Queen Tiy, who was here worshipped as a goddess. Professor Peet's somewhat niggardly estimate of the influence of Tiy seems to need a little revision in view of such an honour. What was possibly one of the smallest, but certainly also one of the most noteworthy of Amenhotep's temples, was the small shrine which he built on the Island of Elephantine, in honour of Khnum, the Creator-god of Elephantine. It measured only about forty feet by thirty, and was only thirteen feet high; but its distinction was that it departed altogether from the usual Egyptian type, and approached in design to what would be called in Greek architecture a peripteral temple. It was approached by a short flight of steps, which was crowned by a portico adorned by two bud-capital columns. The remaining pillars, which run round the building on the other three sides, were of square section, and the place of the external wall which masks the normal Egyptian temple was thus taken by a pillared verandah encircling the building, and closely corresponding in idea to the Greek external colonnade. We owe all that is known of this remarkable little building to the care of the savants of Napoleon's expedition, who were charmed with its beauty, and fortunately sketched it and published their drawing. Twenty-three years later Muhammad Ali wished to have a palace built for himself at Aswan, and the local governor could find no better quarry for material than this unique little gem, which he proceeded to pull down stone by stone, burning the limestone to get mortar, and using the granite decorations as foundation blocks for the palace.

An inscription relating to the *ka*-chapel of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, has preserved for us the curses which Pharaoh publicly called down on anyone who should trespass on the shrine of his faithful old servant. "Amen shall deliver them into the flaming wrath of the king on the day of his anger; his serpent-diadem shall spit fire upon their heads, shall consume their limbs, shall devour their bodies, they shall become like Apap (the Great Serpent enemy in the Underworld) on the morning of New Year's Day. They shall be engulfed in the sea, it shall hide their corpses. They shall not receive the mortuary ceremonies of the righteous; they shall not eat the food of the blessed; the waters of the flood of the river shall not be poured out for them. . . . They shall belong to the sword on the day of destruction, they shall be called enemies; when their bodies be consumed, they shall hunger without bread, and their bodies shall die." One feels that this eloquent commination service would not have been misplaced if applied to the vandal who wrecked Khnum's little shrine at Elephantine.

Thus, during the thirty years of peace which followed the Pharaoh's one warlike expedition, Amenhotep and his servants were giving to the cities of his land, and above all to his capital, a succession of public monuments whose vast scale, solidity and splendour must have made a profound impression on the foreigners who visited Egypt either as traders or on diplomatic errands. Western Asia had her own magnificences; but the brick architecture of Babylonia and Assyria could not compare for a moment with the solid grandeur of the stonework of the Egyptian builders, and the Hittite builders and sculptors were merely barbaric beginners compared with the accomplished artists of the Nile Valley. The only race which, at this time, was producing work which could stand alongside that of Egypt, was the Minoan, whose artists were creating the short-lived glories of the last palace of Knossos almost while Amenhotep was making Thebes glorious; and one can imagine how the Minoan visitors, children of a race which was artist to its finger-tips, would admire the consummate work of the Egyptian genius, even though they



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MAP ACCOMPANYING "A HISTORY OF EGYPT,"
BY THE REV. JAMES BAIKIE, D.D.

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did not feel in the least inclined to abandon their own artistic freedom for the consecrated convention of Egypt, grand as it was. The wonder of Amenhotep's creations within his own land can scarcely have failed to contribute largely to the respect and even awe with which Egypt was regarded for the moment by the other races of the near east; and perhaps the Pharaoh's lavishness may in this respect have been sound sense, and have to some extent made up for his neglect of the military parades with which Thothmes III. had kept his Asiatic neighbours in awe.

At all events there can be no question as to the position which Egypt occupied among the nations at this time, for the kings of the various states concerned, Mitanni, Babylon, Assyria, Hatti, Cyprus, have all left us in their own words the indisputable record of Egyptian pre-eminence, and have let us see how servilely they looked up to Pharaoh, however much they may have longed to "cast him down from his excellency". The story of it all is told, of course, in that extraordinary collection of clay tablets which a *fellah* woman, grubbing for fertiliser among the ruins of Akhenaten's capital of Akhetaten, found in 1887 in what had been the library or muniment-room of his Foreign Office, and which is now familiar to all the world as "The Tell el-Amarna Tablets". No more vivid picture of the interrelations between a set of great powers has ever been given than that which is offered by this happy find, which was sold by its discoverer for two shillings, hawked about to incredulous scholars until many of its treasures were broken or ground to powder, and yet has taught the world more than it is ever likely to learn from the golden glories of Tutankhamen's tomb.

The first thing which becomes apparent on the study of these precious letters of the kings of the near east to Amenhotep and his son is what it is scarcely too much to call cosmopolitanism. We are in presence of a world which is no longer divided into water-tight compartments by frontier-lines and distinctions of nationality (it never was to anything like the extent which was once believed), but is marked by constant and well-regulated international relationships—a world where the kings are in regular

correspondence with one another, where diplomatic envoys are continually coming and going, where the procedure which they have to observe on their arrival at the court to which they are accredited is perfectly well understood by both parties, where the issue of passports and safe-conducts is part of the regular duty of the respective Foreign Offices, where commercial intercourse is shepherded by frontier-guards and subject to the inspection of customs officials, but where also there are ways and means of evading the unwelcome attentions of these useful but unpopular servants of royalty, where there is so perfect a system of international clearance that the property of a foreigner dying in Egypt is held safe for his wife and family until a messenger arrives from his native land to claim it and convey it back to his representatives.

The second thing which appears is the easy supremacy of Egypt for the time being. The letters are often from great kings, the kings of lands which have occupied a very big place in the history of the ancient world, Babylon, Assyria, and Mitanni. They are all very jealous of their own dignity, and very insistent that the presents which are an indispensable part of the correspondence should be exactly correct in quantity and quality, so that, if one gets less than his neighbour is reported to have got, Pharaoh is sure to be reminded of the fact in the next letter. They call one another "my brother", just as the touchy European kings of the eighteenth century and earlier used to write to "Monsieur mon frère", and Pharaoh gets the title as well as the others; they are all perfectly conscious of the fact that after all, no matter what they call him, Pharaoh is, to say the least of it, *primus inter pares*, and the *pares* are even tremulously anxious to keep on good terms with a potentate, who, in addition to his other powers, had the power of the purse, and was continually having to act as banker to his impecunious brethren. In fact, Amenhotep figures more or less in the correspondence as the rich uncle whom all his poor relations are slavishly eager to propitiate—a kind of old-world and near-eastern Mr. Pumblechook.

Kadashman Kharbe of Babylon was doubtless a very great man in his own estimation, and indeed felt himself

sufficiently big to growl at his brother-in-law at Thebes about the treatment which had been given to his sister when she married the Pharaoh; but he comes down from his high horse when he wants an Egyptian princess for his own wife, and accepts almost without a protest the haughty reply of Amenhotep that daughters of the Kings of Egypt were not given in marriage to nobodies like the king of Babylon. He is angry, it is true, but his anger will be easily appeased if only Amenhotep will send him a beautiful Egyptian girl, no matter what her rank, whom he can palm off on his confiding people as a princess of Egypt. "Verily, when you, my brother, have refused to give your daughter in marriage, and have written thus—'From of old a daughter of the King of Egypt has not been given to anybody', I answered, 'Why do you say so? Thou art surely a king, and according to the desire of thine heart canst thou do. If thou givest her, who shall say anything against it? When they reported to me these thy words, I wrote thus to my brother. . . . If there is any beautiful woman, send her! Who shall say, "She is not a king's daughter"? ' Why has my brother not sent me a wife? If thou sendest none, shall not I, like thee, withhold from thee a wife?" The picture of the Babylonian monarch quietly suggesting impersonation to his brother of Egypt, and hinting how easy it would be to make out a beautiful plebeian to be a princess at all that distance from Egypt, is surely one of the quaintest in the annals of diplomacy.

Burraburiash of Babylon also, at a later date, writes to Amenhotep's son Akhenaten mentioning a fact which shows how high Egyptian prestige stood in the days of the great emperor. "His father, Kurigalzu", he says, was approached by some of the Kinakhkhi (Canaanite) chiefs with a request that he would ally himself with them against the Egyptian Pharaoh. Normally such a proposal would have been most tempting to an oriental king, but Kurigalzu had too strong a conviction of the might of Egypt to fall into the snare. "My father sent them the following answer: 'Leave off trying to ally yourselves with me! When you attempt to raise up enmity against the King of Egypt, my brother, and to ally yourselves with another,

I will have nothing to do with it. Shall I not rather come and plunder you? For he is in alliance with me.'” And as for Burraburiash himself, one of his letters to Akhenaten shows how much value he set upon Egyptian friendship, even in days when the tide had turned, and how jealous he was of any other nation sharing it with himself. The Assyrian king, Ashur-uballit, had written to Akhenaten on a matter to which we shall have to refer directly. Burraburiash had heard of the letter, and was at once in a flutter of fear lest mere Assyrians should get the ear of the Egyptian Pharaoh. “As for the Assyrians, who are my dependents (one would like to have heard Ashur-uballit’s comment on this!) I myself wrote to thee about them. Why have they come to thy land? If thou lovest me, they shall bring about no result; let them attain vanity only.”

Of course, there was one very strong reason, apart from the question of mere power or prestige, which urged the kings of the east to keep on good terms with Amenhotep. This was the fact that Amenhotep was, as we have said, the rich uncle, to whom all the poor relations look up with the hope which so often triumphs over experience. One wonders if there were ever in the history of the world quite such a shameless set of sturdy beggars as these old kings of the near east show themselves to be when they write to their wealthy relative who controls the gold of Ethiopia. Tushratta of Mitanni is only too delighted to send down a wife for Pharaoh from his own royal house; but it would be silly waste of a fine opportunity to miss the chance of begging from his brother-in-law. “Now when my brother sent gold, I also spoke thus: ‘Who cares whether it be too little or not?’ It was not too little, it was abundant, and according to reckoning. And since it was according to the reckoning, I also rejoiced greatly over it, and whatever my brother has sent, over it I rejoice greatly. Verily now have I written to my brother, and may my brother increase his friendship to me more than to my father. Verily, I have besought gold from my brother, and as for the gold which I request from my brother there are two reasons for the request—First, for your *karask* (?munitions), and second, for the dowry. So let my brother send to me gold in very

great quantity, beyond reckoning, and let my brother send more gold than that which he sent to my father. For in my brother's land gold is as common as dust. May the gods so bring it about, that whereas now gold is so plentiful in the land of my brother, he may gain gold ten times more plentiful than at present. And as for the gold for which I have made request, let it not grieve my brother's heart, and let not my brother grieve my heart. So let my brother send to me gold beyond reckoning, in very great quantity."

Tushratta had some excuse for begging from his brother-in-law, for, after all, Amenhotep had got one wife from Mitanni, and was expecting another. Most of the other kings had no more solid reason for their importunity than that they needed gold, and Amenhotep had it. Kadashman Kharbe does not mind sending down a daughter of Babylon to Egypt, in spite of the scorn with which Amenhotep had received his request for a daughter of Egypt as a wife to himself; but he wants to see the cash first. "As for the gold concerning which I wrote to you, saying, 'Send a great deal of gold to me before your (regular) messenger comes', now quickly, during this harvest, either in Tammuz or in Ab, send it, so that I may complete the work which I have begun. If during the harvest, either in Tammuz or in Ab, you send the gold concerning which I wrote to you, then I will give you my daughter. . . . So soon as I have finished the work which I have begun, to what purpose should I then desire gold? Verily, were you to send me three thousand talents of gold, I would not receive it, but would send it back to you again, and I would not give you my daughter to wife." It requires a very violent effort of the imagination to see Kadashman Kharbe sending those three thousand talents of gold back again, once he had got his claws upon them. I fancy he would have sent down, not one daughter, but his whole family, rather than be severed from such a gold mine.

At a later stage of the correspondence, Burraburiash of Babylon utters to Akhenaten one of those gems of political wisdom which a king of Egypt was evidently expected to bind as a frontlet between his eyes! "As for the neighbouring kings, consider this—If gold is there, then between

kings there is brotherhood, good friendship, alliance, and happy relationships." One is reminded of Carlyle's picture of the statesmen of the little states of the German Reich "falling like dead men on the neck of the English ambassador, and murmuring, 'Subsidies! More subsidies!'" In fact it is evident that Egypt occupied, under Amenhotep, much the same position as England held towards the Continental states during the eighteenth century, and that the exhibition of Egyptian gold was held to be the infallible cure for all the diseases that affected all the bodies politic of the eastern world. Later, when the supplies were reduced or cut off under Akhenaten, we shall hear the groans which went up from the disappointed claimants.

Altogether, the Amarna correspondence, in its earlier stages, speaks eloquently of the fact that Egypt, either for fear of her might, or for hope of her gold, is accepted by all the great powers of the near east as being manifestly first of them all, a power to be courted and flattered, until the time comes when it may become safe and convenient to do otherwise, and to take by force what is now begged for with shameless importunity. Doubtless each power was convinced at heart of its own infinite superiority to the big and wealthy empire upon whose Pharaoh it fawned—poor relations usually take out in private scorn and hatred what they give in public flattery and self-abasement to the rich uncle; but it was not convenient, in the meantime, to say what one really felt. The Amarna letters do not flatter human nature. On the contrary, they give it to you raw, with all its nerves exposed and quivering with petty hopes and petty spites—human nature, in fact, as it is, not as it ought to be. The sight is perhaps not very edifying; but it is certainly amusing.

On the whole, a perusal of these royal letters tends to exculpate Amenhotep, in one's mind, for the supineness of his maturity. How was a man, before whom the greatest kings of the world were making such an exhibition of themselves, and whom they were courting and flattering so shamelessly, to realise that he was not exempt from the ordinary law which requires effort as the condition of continued well-being? If he had only been resolute to see

things with his own eyes, instead of having wool pulled over them by his greedy correspondents, it would have been a better thing for his empire; but it would have required almost superhuman energy to rise above the numbing influence of such an environment. Certainly Amenhotep did not so rise, being no superman, but only an ordinary pleasure-loving and good-natured human being, whose chief desire, apparently, was to have peace in his time, and to enjoy life. "Verily," wrote Ribaddi of Byblos to Akhenaten, when the Golden Emperor was gone, and gold and many other things were scarcer in Egypt than they had once been, "Verily, thy father did not march forth, nor did he inspect the provinces nor his feudatories".

All the same, if he had only kept his ears open to the true men who were all the time anxiously telling him the truth, instead of listening only to the greedy kings who spoke smooth things and prophesied deceits because they wished to have a finger in his purse, Amenhotep might have learned that things were not going so smoothly as he imagined, and that there was sore need in his Asiatic empire of the master's eye and the master's hand. Syria and Naharin had always been provinces which required periodical reminders of the fact that Egypt was still in existence; and that her arm was not paralysed nor her ear heavy. The practice of training the chiefs of the conquered lands in Egypt before they were sent back to succeed their fathers had done something to place Egyptian influence on a firmer basis; but Syria was still, as it has always been, incorrigibly tribal, and each chief, even though he had learned the might of Egypt in the years which he had spent as a boy at Thebes, still had a hankering after the traditional freedom when every tribe and every man did what was right in his own eyes, and was still subject to all the local influences which urged the baseness of submitting to a distant overlord, who did not even give a sign that he existed, save that he claimed the yearly tribute. These elements of the situation would probably have led, even by themselves, to trouble in the provinces at last; but at least, if there had not been other elements to complicate matters, the trouble would only have been of the usual sporadic and

senseless sort in which one tribe blazed up in revolt and was extinguished before the others could make up their minds whether to support the rebellion or to curry favour with the overlord.

But, in actual fact, the danger was much greater than this simple form of revolt. Behind the figures of the few discontented Syrian chiefs, who, if left to themselves, might have been counterbalanced by the loyal subjects of Egypt, there was now rising the sinister bulk of the great power which for the next century and a half was to be Egypt's thorn in the flesh, and which, while accomplishing little or nothing permanently for itself, succeeded only too well in wrecking the Egyptian empire. The Hittite menace had not as yet become urgent; but already Egyptian allies, if not Egyptian territory, were being threatened, and all the elements of discontent within the northern provinces were being strengthened and instigated by the fact that there was a great power behind them which certainly meant mischief to Egypt, and was quite ready to encourage the intrigues of the restless tribal leaders.

Already Tushratta of Mitanni, in the first letter of his to Amenhotep which has survived, tells the Pharaoh that the Hittites had invaded Mitanni. The invasion, he says, had been completely repelled. "Teshub, my Lord, gave my enemy into my hand, and I routed him. There was none among them who returned to his own land." But the mere presence of Hittite troops in Mitanni was ominous, and, knowing what we know of the issue (and also of Tushratta), one wonders if his victory was so decisive as his bold words suggest. But while open force was being used in Mitanni, the Hittite king, Shubbiluliuma, one of the ablest and cunningest men of the time, was also using, according to his wont, tools of his own to stir up trouble within the Egyptian provinces, which he was not prepared to attack openly. Nominally, Shubbiluliuma was in alliance with the Pharaoh; but it was an easy matter for a man of his talent for intrigue and disregard for truth to keep in reserve a few puppets who could be relied upon to make the mischief that he did not venture to make himself in the open. Such puppets he had found in two Amorite

chieftains, Abdashirta, and his son Aziru, who, and especially Aziru, were destined to be the evil geniuses of Egypt's Asiatic empire. These two bold and crafty men were even now busily picking at the fringes of Egyptian authority in Syria, and were being secretly encouraged by the Hittite king, who always found it more convenient to have others to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for him than to burn his own fingers.

Of all this, Amenhotep was duly warned, not only by Tushratta, but by his local governors, who were mostly Syrians themselves and knew the situation better than the Egyptian residents apparently ever did. The chief prophet of evil at this stage of the business was Aki-izzi of Katna, in the Lebanon district (Orontes Valley). Aki-izzi protests his unswerving loyalty to his suzerain: He has been tempted by others to ally himself with the king of Hatti, but he replied that he would rather die than do such a thing. "My Lord, here in this place I am thy servant. I am following the way of my Lord, and from my Lord I do not depart. Since my fathers became thy servants, this land has been thy land, the city of Katna thy city, and I am my Lord's." But things are going badly around him. Aziru the Amorite has already begun his practices, and the situation is complicated by the fact that the Hittites have been plundering and burning in the neighbourhood, and Aki-izzi is completely bewildered over the matter, for Amenhotep has told him that the Hittite king is his ally.

The one thing that is clear to the worried chief is that unless Pharaoh sends troops the whole land will fall away from him into the hands of his enemies. "O my Lord, if the trouble of this land lies upon the heart of my Lord, let my Lord send troops, and may they come." "If the King, my Lord, will not take the field himself, let him send troops, and let them come!" "O my Lord," poor Aki-izzi protests again, "even as I love the King, my Lord, so do also the King of Nukashshi, the King of Niy, the King of Sinzar, and the King of Tunanat; for these kings are all feudatories of my Lord." It is evident that Egypt had still a strong following in her northern provinces, and that a little display of force was all that was needed to cow dis-

affection and make the Hittite tortoise draw in its head again. One can imagine what would have followed upon the receipt of such an appeal by Thothmes III. The old warrior would have been on the war-path before the letter had been filed, and Abdashirta, Aziru and Company would either have been numbered before long among the "living prisoners" of His Majesty, or the "hands" which were laid before him, while Shubbiluliuma would have quickly found urgent business in the far north, whence he would have sent down a handsome present to appease the wrath of the great soldier.

But Amenhotep was not Thothmes, and perhaps he was hearing too many requests for the light of his royal countenance to shine on all the lands of the eastern world—in the shape of golden rays—to trouble his royal magnificence with the petty little affairs of a few border villages. There can be little doubt that if he had done so, the foreign crisis of his son's reign need never have arisen, to trouble poor Akhenaten's tender conscience with the problem of loyalty to one's empire or to one's convictions. But it was not to be, and Amenhotep's sluggishness began the wreck which was completed a few years later by the scrupulosity of his son.

These, however, were external matters, though they were to make such a difference to Egypt in the end; and in the meantime the internal condition of the homeland must have been one of almost unexampled prosperity. It was a time when the whole of the near east was more or less at rest so far as regarded its international relationships. Egypt was supine under her pleasure-loving Pharaoh, and content with what she had rather than disposed to disturb the peace of the world by seeking more; Babylon was inert under the sluggish Kassite kings; Hatti was as yet only planning the schemes which ere long were to tilt the balance of power, and make everybody uncomfortable by its vibrations; Mitanni was perhaps a little anxious about the future, but wonderfully contented with its alliance with the auriferous Pharaoh; Assyria was only girding up her loins for the amazing race she was to run; Knossos was beautifying her palace-crowned hill and had no thought of

the doom which was already at her door. In a few years all was to be flung into the furnace to be remoulded after a very different pattern; the mighty were to be put down from their seats and those of low degree exalted; but as yet there was no sign of the vast changes which were imminent, and which within a few years were to shake the Egyptian Empire to its very foundations.

During the reign of Amenhotep, the trade of Egypt with the other regions of the ancient East probably reached its culmination, as regards the fulness of its flow, and the safety with which the transit of commodities from one country to another was organised. So far as Egypt was concerned, the organisation of the influx of commerce from without was due to the invaluable Amenhotep, son of Hapu, during the period of his second promotion, while he was acting as Superior King's Scribe over recruits. In this capacity, his first duty was apparently the carrying out of the conscription for the regular army, and the assignment of its appropriate quota for the army to each district in the land. "I levied", he says, "the military classes of my lord. . . . I put them in classes in the place of their elders. . . . I taxed each house with the number belonging thereto; I divided the troops in proportion to their houses; I made up the number of native-born Egyptians with the pick of the captivity taken by His Majesty on the battlefield." (These must have been Sudanese, as Amenhotep III. warred nowhere else). This done, the scribe's next duty was the regulation of the eastern caravan traffic on the Isthmus frontier and of the sea-borne trade at the Nile-mouths.

"I placed troops at the heads of the routes, to turn back the foreigners in their places. The Two Lands (Upper and Lower Egypt) were surrounded with a watch scouting for the Sand-dwellers. I did likewise at the heads of the river-mouths, which were closed under my guards, except to the squadrons of the royal marine. I was the guide of their ways, they depended upon my command." The safety thus secured for caravans approaching Egypt, and for sea-borne commerce making for the Nile mouths, was not provided by the Egyptian state without the exaction of some return, and the Amarna letters show us that a regular tariff was

levied upon incoming goods. From this tariff, however, the kings of the various states, who evidently traded on their own account, as King Solomon did later, claimed to be exempt. "As for my merchants and my ship," writes the king of Alashia, "let not your officer of the customs come too near them." What success may have attended this claim or other similar claims on the part of the royal merchants of the east, we do not know; but the fact of it having to be made shows that there was a regular tariff on incoming goods, which was doubtless balanced, in the other lands, by a corresponding tariff upon Egyptian imports.

What the scale of this international traffic may have been, we do not know, and probably never shall. Theban tomb-paintings show us Phoenician craft moored at Egyptian quays, and Syrian crews and traders dealing in Egyptian bazaars; and on the other side of the balance-sheet, fragmentary relics of Egyptian craftsmanship have been found in almost every land of the Near East, and in the Ægean area and the ruins of Mycenae. But there is no contemporary evidence of the volume of trade which must have passed through the various land and sea arteries to maintain the life of ancient commerce at this period. Nearly three centuries later, when the sea-borne trade of the Levant had for at least two hundred and fifty years been exposed to all the ravages of the piracy which resulted from the break-down of the great empires, and especially of that of Knossos, we get a glimpse of the amount of trade which existed then between the Phoenician port of Byblos and the Egyptian Tanis, and a more doubtful suggestion as to the larger volume of traffic between Sidon and Tanis. "He said to me", writes Wenamon, recounting his heated debate with Zakar-Baal, Prince of Byblos, 'But there are twenty ships here in my harbour that are in *kheber* (association?) with Nesubanebde (the Pharaoh of Lower Egypt, who resided at Tanis in the Delta), and as for this Sidon, past which thou didst sail, there are fifty (?) ships there, which are in *kheber* with Birkat-el, and which sail to his house.' Unfortunately for our purpose, the second figure in Zakar-Baal's estimate is quite uncertain, and, instead of fifty, has been read 10,000,

which would simply indicate that the Prince of Byblos was bragging a little to impress his Egyptian visitor; but even accepting the lowest figures for Byblos and Sidon, the fact that these two Phoenician ports, under such unfavourable conditions, had twenty and fifty ships, respectively, trading to a single Egyptian port suggests what may have been the magnitude of trade when the conditions were more favourable. The King of Alashia, writing on another occasion to his brother of Egypt, apologises for sending only five hundred talents of copper, the reason for the smallness of the consignment being the prevalence of plague in his country; so that we may conclude that Alashia, whether it was Cyprus or the Cilician coast-land, was in the habit of sending much larger quantities of copper to Egypt under ordinary conditions. This is pretty much the extent of our actual knowledge as to the scale of the trade of the period.

Meagre as it is, it is sufficient to enable us to picture for ourselves the world of the near East, as it was in the days of Amenhotep, as a world very much alive and responsive to every influence, of whatever kind, which was exerted by any member of the community of nations. Almost as much as at the present time, St. Paul's conception of a state of things in which men were all members of one another was realised in the narrow circle of the ancient Orient. The products and inventions of one people speedily became, in the ordinary course of trade, the property of all; the artistic conceptions of one land were quickly transmitted to its neighbours, not necessarily to be always adopted without modification, but often to be modified in accordance with local tastes or needs, and then retained as a permanent acquisition; nor were intellectual and spiritual conceptions less subject to the prevailing internationalism of the time, but were making their power and influence felt in the modification of ancient forms of thought and ancient religious creeds throughout the Levant. One of the outstanding facts which we have to remember about this period is that the citizen of any one of the great countries of this ancient world, at this time, was by no means the limited creature that we are apt to imagine him, either as to his material or intellectual outlook; but was actually a

citizen of the world—perhaps as much so, relatively to his environment, as any European or American of the present day. His world was smaller, it is true, than our own; but within its limits it was perhaps as open to him as ours is to us; and it was a world which was intensely alive and active in the creation of a considerable element of that culture without which the wider and richer world of the present would never have been possible. Traces of this cosmopolitan character of the time have survived in practically all the lands of the ancient East, and we can still see the evidence of the manner in which the culture of one land was influencing that of its neighbours. Not that this process of infiltration produced any dull uniformity; but that each race, while remaining true to the genius of its own national culture, appropriated whatever it appreciated in that of the race or races with which it was brought into contact, making it its own by the adaptations which suited it to its new environment.

Such a wealth of trade as was in motion by sea and land at this period was obviously a standing temptation to the type which in all ages has regarded the world as its prey. The Eastern Mediterranean has from time immemorial been the nurse of a thriving piratical industry, such as that which taxed the resources of the Romans, with Pompey as their commander, to put it down. And even in Amenhotep's time, though the sea-routes were controlled by the two great empires of Egypt and Crete, there was still a certain amount of piracy. In one of his letters, the King of Alashia speaks of Lycian pirates who had been plundering on his coast, and had apparently been doing the same on the coast of Egypt, so that Amenhotep's coast-guard had not succeeded in making the Nile-mouths absolutely safe. A little later, we have a complaint from King Ashuruballit of Assyria to Amenhotep IV. about his messengers having been held up because of danger from bands of marauding Suti, or Beduin; so that it becomes evident that it was no more possible to secure absolute immunity for traffic on the land routes than it was at sea.

In his first letter to Amenhotep IV., Burraburiash of Babylon complains that his messenger has been robbed even

in lands which are under the control of Egypt. "With regard to Salmu, my messenger whom I sent to you, his caravan has been twice plundered. Once has Biriamaza plundered it, and his other caravan, Pamahu, governor of one of the lands which belong to you, a feudatory land, has plundered it." In his next letter he has to tell the young Pharaoh that things have gone further than mere plundering, and that there has been bloodshed. "Sumadda, son of Balumme, and Sutatna, son of Saratum, of Accho, sent their people, and my merchants have they slain, and their money have they taken. . . . Kinakhkhi is your land, and its kings are your servants. In your land have I been outraged! Control them, and restore the money which they have stolen! And as for the people who have slain my servants, slay them, and avenge their blood!" Such statements do not perhaps imply any greater lawlessness than that which characterised our own highways in the eighteenth century; but they suggest that there was somewhat of a lapse from a preceding condition of greater security for persons and goods.

Indeed the Tell el-Amarna letters warn us that the petty kings of Canaan were getting decidedly out of hand during the latter part of the reign of Amenhotep III., and it is in accordance with this fact that the earliest safe-conduct known in history should be addressed to them. The unnamed king of North Syria who wrote it was of sufficient importance, or at least held himself to be of sufficient importance, to be able to send his own special messenger to Egypt to condole with the reigning Pharaoh, probably Amenhotep IV., on some bereavement, which was likely the death of Amenhotep III.; and he was not unnaturally anxious that his representative on so important an occasion should not be exposed to any loss or indignity on his journey. "Unto the kings of Kinakhkhi, the vassals of my brother, the king hath spoken, saying, 'Verily I have sent Akia, my messenger, unto my brother, the King of Egypt, to condole with him. Let no one detain him! Swiftly cause him to enter into Egypt, and take him hastily unto the hand of the viceroy of Egypt, and let no evil be done unto him'." The undeniable interest attaching to such a document should not blind us to the fact that its existence

points to the approaching dissolution of the bonds of intercourse which had for the last half-century been drawing the nations of the ancient world closer together, and to the gradual break-down of the *Pax Aegyptiaca* which had marked the reign of Amenhotep.

Up to the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth year of their reign, no son had been born to Amenhotep and Tiy. The king had several sons by secondary wives, of whom one named Thothmes was priest of Ptah at Memphis. Tutankhamen has also been considered as one of his sons, on the strength of the inscription on one of the Gebel Barkal lions in the British Museum; but the examination of his mummy shows that he was of an age which renders this impossible, so that the word "father" in the inscription must be taken as signifying merely "ancestor", as it often does. None of the sons by secondary wives could be regarded, however, as having an incontestable claim to the throne; and it was therefore doubtless with great rejoicing that the birth of an heir, whose claim no one could dispute, was hailed. The other children of the union of Amenhotep and Tiy were the four princesses Ast, Hentmerheb, Satamen and Hentaneb, who were all older than the heir, and another princess Baktaten, who was born subsequently to the birth of the young Amenhotep, and whose name, incorporating as it does the title of the Aten, seems to be an indication of the hold which the new religious ideas were gaining at court. The new heir to the throne, however, was still named, in quite orthodox fashion, Amenhotep, and at the beginning of his reign bore the title of Amenhotep IV.

The mention of the religious significance of the name of the Princess Baktaten brings up the question of how far the development of the new court religion of Atenism, which was to influence Egyptian history so disastrously in the next reign, had proceeded during the reign of Amenhotep III. The nature and the history of Atenism will have to be considered at a later stage; meanwhile it is enough to state that, while the evidence for a certain change in the attitude of the court-circle towards the national religion during the reign of Amenhotep III. is comparatively small, it is yet sufficient to assure us that new ideas of a god who

subsequently was conceived of as the universal god of the Amarna creed were already beginning to be received and to gain popularity in the royal palace and among the courtiers before Amenhotep III. had half run his course. The first evidence of the popularity of a new conception of divinity is given, as we have seen, by the name of the barge on which the king and queen celebrated the water-festival on the lake of their new palace. "Aten-Gleams" first sailed over the lake which the king had made for his wife's delight in the eleventh year of the reign, so that even at this stage the new ideas had begun to influence the court. Towards the end of the reign we have the adoption of the Aten into the name of the princess Baktaten, which seems to indicate a further advance in the same direction. A third item of evidence is the fact that on the block which Horemheb subsequently re-used in the building of his pylon at Karnak, and which bears a figure of the falcon-headed Horus adorned with the full Atenist title of "Horus-of-the-Horizon, rejoicing in his horizon, in his name of Shu-who-is-in-the-Aten", the original royal figure associated with the god was that of Amenhotep III., and bore his cartouche. The cartouche was subsequently altered to that of Akhenaten, "Nefer-kheperu-Ra"; but the original title can still be sufficiently clearly traced. There was, therefore, a building at Thebes consecrated to the new deity before that which Akhenaten built, and this shrine, whatever its importance or unimportance, was the work of Amenhotep III.

Further, on the stele of the brothers Hor and Suti, architects of Amenhotep III. (now in the British Museum) we have a most curious mingling of old and new religious ideas and titles. The hymn which is inscribed on the stele is professedly "A Hymn to Amen when he riseth as Horus of the Two Horizons"; but we find in it such a phrase as this: "Hail to thee, *O Aten of the Day*, thou Creator of mortals and Maker of their life!" while the divinity who is addressed is already beginning to be conceived of as somewhat approaching to the universal god of Atenism. "Sole lord taking captive all lands every day." It is evident, therefore, that not only in the actual royal household, but within the circle of officialdom closely related to

the palace, new conceptions of godhead and its relations to humanity were beginning to circulate, though as yet their implications were but very imperfectly understood. More than this it is impossible to say, on the evidence which we possess.

What personal share the king may have had in the adoption and propagation of these ideas is another matter. That he had no objection to them is manifest from his use of the Aten title for his barge and his erection of an Aten shrine in his capital. But, after all, these things may mean no more than that an easy-going mortal, tolerant because his personal convictions were neither firm nor deep-rooted, allowed himself to be influenced towards a novel conception of religion sufficiently to grant it a place among the other faiths which were represented abundantly in Egypt. What and whose may have been the influence which determined him in this direction is a point on which there is absolutely no evidence whatsoever. The weight of influence arising from the presence of the two Mitannian princesses, Gilukhipa and Tadukhipa, with their entourage—the more directly personal influence of Queen Tiy—who can say? One's own idea may be that Queen Tiy is much more likely to have had a say in the matter than the Mitannian ladies, whose insignificance at court seems fairly certain; but it is best to admit that this is no more than an idea, and may be a vain imagining. There is nothing in existence, so far as our present knowledge goes, to show that Tiy ever influenced her husband or her son, either by act or by word, in the direction of substituting Atenism for the official Amenism of the time. Amenhotep III. tolerated the introduction of the new conceptions; in the next reign, toleration had developed into championship at all costs. Some influence must have been at work to produce such a development—but whose?

The religious storm-cloud was only beginning to gather during Amenhotep's reign, and there were no signs of the ravages which it was to make in Egyptian prosperity and power. We have already seen, from the letters of Tushratta and Aki-izzi of Katna, that the political horizon in the north of the Asiatic empire was darkening; and during the latter days of the great king things grew steadily

worse in Syria. To the complaints of Aki-izzi are now added those of Ribaddi of Byblos, whose doleful litany continues into the reign of Akhenaten, growing steadily more and more lugubrious as the clouds darken about him. The process of nibbling at the fringes of the Egyptian provinces, against which Aki-izzi had warned the Pharaoh, was continually going on under the cunning hands of the Amorite Abdashirta and his son Aziru. To Ribaddi, it was as clear as day that Abdashirta aimed at nothing less than the utter subversion of Egyptian power in the land. "Abdashirta is a cur," he writes, "and he is seeking to capture all the cities of the king." He had good reason to warn his overlord, for it is evident that the Amorite chiefs were seeking to isolate Byblos by the gradual seizure of its hinterland, so depriving the city of the resources which it derived from the interior; while its sea-borne trade was being threatened by the fact that Abdashirta and his son had captured the ports to the south of the faithful city, and were trading to Egypt with the very supplies which should have gone to support Ribaddi and his community.

As yet, the Amorites had not committed themselves by any open declaration or act of hostility towards Egypt. Indeed it is plain from Ribaddi's letters that at this stage the situation might have been saved by a very small effort on the part of Egypt. The help which the distressed governor asks from his supine overlord seems almost ridiculously small—a mere handful of Egyptian spearmen or charioteers. "May it seem good to my lord, the Sun of the lands, to give me twenty pair of horses", is the sum of one request; while even at his utmost need, he asks for no more than three hundred men—"so will we be able to hold the city". The mere appearance of the Egyptian banner in the field would apparently have been sufficient to terrify the conspirators into submission, and tilt the balance in favour of the loyal servants of Egypt. If Amenhotep had simply permitted a demonstration of the fact that he was determined to maintain his position as suzerain of the Asiatic provinces, the trouble would probably have died away without much more ado. Abdashirta and his son would have shifted their allegiance back again to the side

which seemed to them the stronger, and Ribaddi's mind would have been at rest. Unfortunately the action which would have saved the situation was not taken by the king, and the consequence was that the anti-Egyptian party in Syria came to the conclusion that Egypt had no intention of making a fight for her provinces, and the process of gradual aggression continued steadily throughout the latter years of Amenhotep, until the emergency which might easily have been met by the dispatch of a few hundreds of Egyptian archers and a score or two of chariots had grown into one which would have required a large army to deal with it.

For the supineness which allowed the continuance and growth of this unsatisfactory condition of affairs, the sluggishness of the king himself is probably to be blamed. So far as can be judged on the scanty evidence available, Amenhotep was one of the type of kings who are content with things so long as their own personal comfort and enjoyment is not interfered with, and whose prayer is always, "Lord, grant peace in our time"—a type which has been responsible for perhaps almost as much evil and misery in the world as that of the active mischief-maker. On the other hand, however, two arguments may be pleaded in palliation of his inertness. First, that it is not improbable that the king did not possess, at least in his later years, the physical energy which would have enabled him to deal with the position as anyone of the earlier kings of his line would have dealt with it. The XVIIIth Dynasty had now lasted for two centuries, which is just about the time which that other great line, the XIIth Dynasty, took to wear itself out. The earlier kings had shown an extraordinarily high level of energy and determination, all the more remarkable when we realise the constant inbreeding which was characteristic of the royal lines of Egypt. But the evidence is not lacking that latterly the tendency had been in the direction of a decline in the physical energy of the race. This tendency had shown itself quite unmistakably in the constitution of Amenhotep's father, Thothmes IV., whose mummy shows him to have been of fragile and delicate constitution, however brave his spirit may have

been; and the fact that Amenhotep himself appears to have died before he was fifty, simply worn out by the work of ruling and enjoying himself, suggests that the weakness of Thothmes IV. had been transmitted to his son. It was to manifest itself in another form in his grandson Amenhotep IV., coupled, as is not uncommon in such cases, with a distinct vein of genius of the type which carries eccentricity to a point nearly akin to insanity.

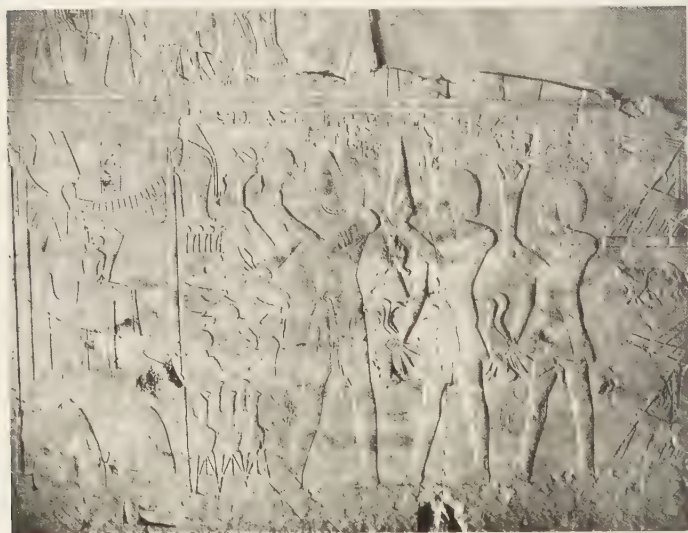
It is quite possible, therefore, that King Amenhotep's supineness arose, partly at least, from physical causes, and that he had no longer the energy which would have enabled him to lead his army into Syria in person. The days of his lion-hunting and bull-slaying were now only memories of the distant past. But, further, it is not difficult to see how puzzling the situation must have seemed to the king and his counsellors, apart from any question of the king actually taking the field. It would have been easy enough to send an army into Syria under leadership which would probably have been more competent than any that Amenhotep could give it; but then, on which side was the army to serve? Abdashirta and Aziru, who were being denounced as traitors by Ribaddi, were all the time writing on their own account to the Egyptian Foreign Office in terms which breathe the purest loyalty, and were not forgetting to take every opportunity to insinuate that Ribaddi's own loyalty was not above suspicion. Ribaddi had said distinctly and repeatedly that Abdashirta was a dog; well Abdashirta says exactly the same thing, and confesses himself to be a dog—with a difference. He is the king's watch-dog who guards his outlying possessions from aggressors—presumably of the type of Ribaddi. "To the King, the Sun, my Lord, speaks Abdashirta, thy servant, the dust of thy feet. Beneath the feet of the King, my Lord, seven times and seven times I fall. Lo, I am a servant of the King, and his house-dog, and the whole of the Land of Amor guard I for the King, my Lord."

Who was to judge between the loyalty of Ribaddi and the loyalty of Abdashirta? Certainly not a distant Pharaoh and his Council, who knew neither of the men, and had not been in touch with Syria for half a lifetime.

The traitor sounded just as true as the true man; indeed his voice must have seemed the pleasanter, because he asked for none of the supplies and troops for which Ribaddi was continually begging, but spoke smooth things. One thing, of course, would have put an end to all the uncertainty—for Pharaoh to march up into Syria, as Thothmes III. would have done upon much less provocation, and to see things with his own eyes; but this was what Amenhotep could or would not do—perhaps for the valid reason that has been suggested. Short of personal inspection, it is not easy to see what assurance Amenhotep could have had that in taking the action for which Ribaddi clamoured he was not making a great mistake and alienating loyal servants. His inaction was a huge blunder, and one which cost Egypt very dear; but one can see that there is a good deal to plead in extenuation of his mistake.

At all events, nothing was done, either by the king in person or by any of his generals, to improve the situation, and it steadily worsened, until the culmination of the disaster was reached under Akhenaten. Indeed poor Ribaddi's gloomy warnings may never have reached the ears of the king. At a later stage Abdi-khiba of Jerusalem evidently feared that Akhenaten never really heard his appeals, and added an urgent postscript now and again in the possibly vain endeavour to ensure that he did get a hearing. Ribaddi, in this earlier stage, may have fared no better.

At home, however, things went with perfect apparent smoothness, save for the gradual decay of the king's strength. He celebrated his jubilee in the thirtieth year of his reign, and a relief in the tomb of Khaemhat at Thebes shows him enthroned, and bearing among his titles that of Lord of the Jubilee. Apparently the harvest of the jubilee was, or at least was stated to be, a bumper one, for the king is receiving the statement of its abundance. The inscription runs: "Appearance of the king upon the great throne, to receive the report of the harvest of the South and North". "Communication of the report of the harvest of the year 30 in the presence of the king, consisting of the harvest of the great inundation of the jubilee which His Majesty celebrated . . ." followed by the figures: "Total:



RELIEFS FROM TOMB OF KHAEMHAT. (*Chapter XXXII.*)

33,333,300", figures which in themselves suggest artificiality, and which we have no means of comparing with those of other harvests. The favourable report, however, won for the estate stewards of the king the reward which they no doubt expected for adding an extra glory to the jubilee festivities. Khaemhat records the "Reward of the stewards of the estates of Pharaoh (Life! Health! Strength!), together with the chiefs of the South and the North, after the statement of the overseer of the granary concerning them: 'They have increased the harvest of year 30'".

Six years later, according to the custom of later times, Amenhotep celebrated a third jubilee. No record of it has survived; but it is vouched for by an inscription in the tomb of Kharuf: "Year 36. Conducting the companions for presentation in the Presence at the third jubilee of His Majesty." A stele at Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai records a mining expedition in that neighbourhood in the same year 36; and this is the last historical record we have of the reign. The only other reference to the last days of the great king comes from a letter of his faithful correspondent and brother-in-law, Tushratta of Mitanni. Tushratta was naturally much concerned about the failing health of one who was not only his brother-in-law and his son-in-law, but also, and much more pertinently, his banker, and he did his best for his triply dear relative. Mitanni had apparently still retained sufficient authority over Assyria to allow of Tushratta laying claim to the services of the wonder-working image of the great Assyrian goddess, Ishtar of Nineveh. Ishtar was dispatched on her healing mission to Thebes, and was accompanied by a fervent and doubtless most sincere prayer on the part of the Mitannian king: "May Ishtar, Lady of Heaven, protect my Brother and me! A hundred thousand years and great joy may this lady give to us both." But Amenhotep's days were numbered, and Tushratta's prayer was to have no answer either in his own case or that of his friend. Amenhotep had not lived long, but he had lived, no doubt, a great deal in his fifty years. His third jubilee cannot have been long past when he closed his weary eyes on the scenes of so much magnificence and was laid to rest, not in the more fre-

quented part of the Valley of the Kings, but in the Western Valley, where the great pyramidal hill that rises above his tomb makes a more abiding monument for the last of the great emperors than even the splendid temple on the Western plain. It was a troubled heritage which he left to his young son, though to all appearance Egypt was as strong and as splendid as ever.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE REIGN OF AKHENATEN, AND HIS RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION

THE position of the Egyptian empire at the accession of the new Pharaoh was critical, but by no means desperate. The whole of the southern portion of the empire was undisturbed, and the heart of everything, the Nile Valley, was, to all appearance, as prosperous and contented as it had ever been. The only point where trouble existed, and where more was threatening, was in the Asiatic provinces. There, in the north of Syria, and on the Phoenician coast, there was a double movement, that of the aggressive Hittites and that of the rebellious Amorites, which was eventually to prove subsidiary to the aggression of the Hittite power. Both of these movements were hostile to the Egyptian dominion, but, as yet, not avowedly so. They were carrying on rather a process of nibbling at the outlying fringes of the empire, and, in the case of the Amorites at least, were still doing this under the pretext of loyalty to their Egyptian overlord. What were really attacks on Egyptian sovereignty were being so represented at the Egyptian court as to seem justifiable punishments upon traitors to Egypt. Further south again, in the region round about Jerusalem, there was a similar movement, which was being carried on by the invading bands whom the local governors knew as the Habiru, and who may or may not have formed one section of the Hebrew people, making an attempt (certainly not under any recognisable Hebrew leader known to the national historians) to secure the land which they believed to be theirs under a Divine covenant.

But, so far as can be judged from the reports of the local residents and governors, who certainly were under no temptation to minimise the evil which they described with such insistence, there was nothing in either of these movements which could not have been dealt with easily by an active and alert master of the resources of Egypt. Combinations of the petty kings and chiefs of Palestine and Syria, far more formidable than that which Abdashirta and Aziru were patiently and craftily engineering, had dissolved more than once before at the mere shaking of the Egyptian spear; and there is no reason to believe that the Amorite chiefs would have fared any better than their predecessors, had Egypt once bestirred herself. The most doubtful and sinister element in the business was the figure which hovered in the background, playing a part which was to become the Egyptian part in later days—that of the stirrer-up of strife and rebellion. But, though the Hittites played their game with greater success (for the moment) than Egypt ever attained in her intrigues against the Assyrian domination, it is next to a certainty that if Egypt had shown a resolute determination at this stage to maintain her position as mistress of Palestine and Syria, the Hittites would not have ventured to provoke a conflict. Their crafty king, Shubbiluliuma, could fight when fighting was unavoidable; but the last thing in the world which he desired was an appeal to arms. Had Egypt wakened from the lethargy into which she had fallen during Amenhotep's thirty-six years of magnificent inertia, Shubbiluliuma would almost assuredly have drawn back, and trusted to time and the chances of time to ripen the pear for his plucking. And if Egypt, instead of looking on helplessly while her provinces fell away from her, had maintained her grasp upon them for another generation, the chances are that the subsequent history of the ancient world would have been a very different thing from what it proved to be under less favourable auspices.

As it was, the clash between Egypt and Hatti, when it came at last, came under conditions most unfavourable for Egypt, and the indecisive struggle between the two powers simply played the game of Assyria, and left her

free to nurse her strength while her competitors were exhausting themselves in fruitless strife. But had Egypt put down her foot at once when the new Pharaoh succeeded, the clash need never have come; and, even if it had come, Egypt would have been in a far more advantageous position to meet it than a generation later, when she had to fight her way up through her lost provinces before she could so much as come into touch with her main enemy. In short, the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep IV. was the crisis of Egypt's destiny as a world-power, and the action or inaction of a few years determined her whole future, and determined it unfavourably. Everything, of course, depended, as it always has done in the East, upon the personal character of the ruler. If Egypt at this crisis of her fate could have produced another Pharaoh of the type of Thothmes III., or even if she could have produced another Amenhotep II., the chances are that her dominion in Asia might have continued for another century, perhaps even for longer. Actually, the Hittite was the only serious claimant to her position, and as yet Hatti was not inclined to risk an open struggle; while subsequent events were to prove that the Hittite claim had not enough weight behind it to endure. Assyria's claim was, as everyone knows, to prove in the end a far more serious one; but as yet Assyria was at the most only a potential claimant, and few observers would have been ready to allow that she was even that. Certainly a determined stand at this point on the part of Egypt would have meant the retardation of Assyrian aggression by a considerable period—to the great gain of the world at large.

It was not to be. There can be no question that Egypt produced a remarkable man in her hour of need. That he was a great man is a position which is scornfully denied by quite a number of present-day scholars, and quite as vigorously maintained by even a greater number. To some, he appears as nothing better than a hopelessly unpractical and incompetent doctrinaire, who, for the sake of theories which were not even original, and have not even the spirituality which is claimed for them, threw away an empire, and sacrificed the lives and the loyalty of

better men than himself. To others, he has something of the halo which surrounds a man who made himself the martyr of a great idea, and sacrificed life, and what was far more precious than life, for the sake of his convictions; and as the ideas for which he is supposed to have stood are those which for the time are in favour with the modern world, it is the latter party which at present has the most chance of prevailing. In the meantime, poor Akhenaten is kept in the air, like a globe in the jet of a fountain, by the combined impacts of blame on the one hand and praise on the other; and, being denounced from one side as a bloodless humbug and praised from the other as a spotless saint, may reasonably be concluded to have been neither the one nor the other, but simply an honest man who, like not a few of us, could only see one aspect of truth, who felt it his duty to be true, at all hazards, to what he saw, and who, because of his faithfulness, which some would call stubbornness, failed, as many other honest men have failed, to make a worldly success of his life.

Whether his convictions were worth the price which he paid for his loyalty to them, and (an aspect of the case not to be forgotten) exacted from others, is another matter. At all events he thought so, and it was he who had to face the problem. Whatever may be the final judgment to which we may come with regard to his character, at least it cannot be denied that Akhenaten was one of the most remarkable men, whether for good or evil, to whom the ancient East has ever given birth. It would be difficult to point to another name which has so much living interest attaching to it after three thousand years as his. The mere fact that there has been more controversy about him during the last half century than about all the other kings and heroes of the ancient East put together is, of course, no proof of his actual greatness; but at least it signifies that there was about him a quality which it is impossible to ignore, and which lends to his whole period a peculiar interest of its own. The men who have made their religion the centre and the moving power of their whole life have not been so many in the history of the world as to allow us to neglect one of the supreme examples of such devotion.

The age at which the new Pharaoh succeeded to the crown has been recently matter of dispute. On the one hand, the evidence of the mummy which is supposed to be his appears to be almost conclusive as to his having died at an age which was probably under thirty, and which, even if allowance be made for the retarded development which is said to be a not uncommon characteristic of the subjects of the disease from which he is supposed to have suffered, cannot have been much over thirty. The duration of his reign was about seventeen years; so that at the best he can only have been, on this computation, at the beginning of his teens at his accession, while he may very well have been only eleven years old. On the other hand, the view has been maintained, chiefly on the ground of two much mutilated inscriptions at the Ashmolean and the Louvre, referring to the king's jubilee, that he must have been at least thirty years old at the date, probably his 6th year, when the jubilee was celebrated, and that he must therefore have been at least twenty-four at his accession, probably older, and at least forty-one at the time of his death. Professor Sethe, who has been the chief supporter of this latter view, maintains that the body found in the tomb in the Valley of the Kings cannot have been that of Akhenaten. Others who hold his view as to the king's age do not admit this, but believe that the apparent juvenility of the bones is due to the form of *Dystocia* from which he suffered, and that therefore the evidence of the mummy is not to be depended on. It is difficult, however, to see how an age of twenty-four or -five at his accession can possibly be reconciled with the known facts as to the duration of the reigns of his father and grandfather. On the whole, it seems that the evidence so far produced is insufficient to shake the belief that the king was only a boy when he succeeded to the throne, though there is a distinct element of doubt about the matter. After all, it is not one of any vital importance, and scarcely deserves the amount of laboured and ill-founded argument which has been spent upon it. The facts of the reign are the important thing, and their significance remains the same whether the man who was responsible for them was ten years older or ten years younger.

The start of the reign was not marked by any actions which gave warning of the religious upheaval which was to characterise it. It is probable that at this stage the young king was still acting under the advice of the counsellors who had stood by his father's throne, and under the influence of his mother Queen Tiy, who, though she has been credited with having been the real moving force in the direction of Atenism, never seems to have made any attempt, either in the reign of her husband or in that of her son, to press the claims of the faith to which she adhered. At all events, the new royal titulary was proclaimed in a form very much the same as that to which Egypt had for long been accustomed. The quarry inscription at Silsileh, the first record of the reign, gives the titulary as follows: "Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Lofty of Plumes; Favourite of the Two Goddesses; Great in Kingship in Karnak; Golden Horus; Wearer of Diadems in the Southern Heliopolis; King of Upper and Lower Egypt; High-Priest of Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon-in-His-Name-'Heat-which-is-in-Aten'; Neferkheperura-Uah-en Ra; Son of Ra, Amenhotep, Divine Ruler of Thebes; Great in His Duration, Living for ever and ever; Beloved of Amen-Ra, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Eternity".

The average orthodox Egyptian would see little to disturb him in this long-drawn out description of his new Pharaoh. He might be somewhat surprised to see one special aspect of the Sun-god Ra emphasised in the passage where the Pharaoh claims the "High-priesthood of Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon-in-his-Name-'Heat-which-is-in-the-Aten'"; but after all, the king was *ex officio* high-priest of all the gods of the land, and if he chose to emphasise one particular high-priesthood, that was his affair; doubtless he would emphasise others on other occasions. He called himself "Beloved of Amen" and "Son of Ra" in a perfectly orthodox fashion, and there was no need to make a fuss. It is worthy of notice, however, that this comparatively innocent titulary appears at the head of a document in which the king records how he summoned all the workmen of the nation "from Elephantine to Samhudet" (a Hebrew would have said, "from Dan

to Beersheba") for the purpose of quarrying sandstone for the building of "the great Sanctuary of Harakhte, in his Name-'Heat-Which-is-in-Aten' in Karnak". This was the famous Aten-temple whose erection in the very stronghold of Amen so shocked the orthodox Amenites, and of which not one stone was left upon another in the day of the triumph of Amen. It is worth noticing, too, that already the court officials were being committed, whether willingly or under constraint, to the active support of the new religious ideas. "Behold, the officials, the companions, and the chiefs of the fan-bearers (all the nobles, therefore, who were nearest to the royal person), were the chiefs of the quarry-service, for the transportation of stone."

In the external relations of the empire all was quiet for the moment. Usual as it had been in the past for the accession of a new Pharaoh to be greeted by a spirit of rebellion in the Asiatic provinces, this playful testing of the Egyptian dynamometer was not resorted to on this occasion. It is quite conceivable that it might have been better for Egypt in the long run had it been otherwise, and that a brisk rebellion, calling urgently for Egyptian intervention, might have brought about a reversion to the old principle of swift and firm handling of the situation, at a time when the new king was not irrevocably committed to his principles of pacifism and non-intervention. But this was not to be. All the little kings of the north were on their best behaviour for the moment, and even Abdashirta and Aziru kept their hands for awhile from picking and stealing till such time as they should see what manner of man the new Good God at Thebes might be, and whether it might be safe to presume upon his godlike indifference to mundane affairs, and resume their interrupted game.

The great potentates of Western Asia, who had been accustomed to correspond with Amenhotep III. on terms of something like equality, were amusingly anxious that a connection which had been so profitable, financially, to themselves should not be interrupted by the accession of his son; and the Amarna letters of the moment are most interesting—more interesting, in fact, than edifying. Of them all, the king who had the most awkward role to play

was Shubbiluliuma of Hatti. So far as the old intriguer possessed a conscience, it must have been a little troublesome to him as he sat down to indite the necessary letter of mingled condolence and congratulation to the man whom he was plotting to rob of as many of his provinces as possible. Custom required that he should be polite on such an occasion, and Shubbiluliuma, who never took the straight road when a crooked one could be found, was not prepared, as yet, to have an open breach with Egypt. Later on, perhaps; but in the meantime the decencies had to be deferred to until it was safe to disregard them.

Under such conditions the letter must have been a difficult one to write, and it bears all the marks of its uncomfortable origin. It is stiff and formal, and the writer cannot bring himself to be altogether cordial to his intended victim. He had arranged to have a grievance up his sleeve against the new king; he will only mention it casually in the meantime; but it will be ready for more serious use, if necessary, in the future. In the abundance of business at the accession it had been omitted to send any special embassy to Boghaz-Keui; and Shubbiluliuma is not going to allow such a slight to his dignity to pass unnoticed. "The messages which thy father during his lifetime was accustomed to send, why hast thou, my brother, in such a fashion withheld them? Now hast thou, my brother, ascended the throne of thy father; and as thy father and I were accustomed to request mutual presents, so now also will you and I be good friends mutually." The young king's scribe probably pigeon-holed the Hittite king's surly letter with the remark that you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear; but to us who know what followed the churlish tone and the grumble are ominous.

Burraburiash of Babylon has also some small grievance to refer to, both as regards the treatment which messengers and caravans are getting on their passage through the vassal states of Egypt, and the insufficient quantity of gold which was being sent him from his Egyptian royal bankers. "Why did you send me only two minas of gold? Now my work upon the Temple, which I have undertaken, is exceeding great, therefore send a great deal of gold"; but

he is even tremulously anxious to show his young friend how great a value he sets upon the friendship of Egypt, and how boldly he has dealt with those who wished him to violate his covenant with his old ally, and not less anxious that his Assyrian vassals, as he calls them, should not share in the sunshine of the new Pharaoh's countenance. It is in this same letter, in which he complains of the scanty supplies of gold which are reaching him, that he refers also to his prompt turning-down of the project of an alliance against Egypt which had been communicated to him by some of the kinglets of "Kinakhkhi", and to his disgust at hearing that the Assyrians had dared to send an embassy to Egypt. "If you love me, let them make nothing of the business. With empty hands let them go home again."

Ashur-uballit of Assyria is not behind-hand with his messages. He too is building, like his Babylonian overlord; but, as you would expect from an Assyrian king, it is a palace for himself, not a temple for his god, that he is busy on. The net result, however, is the same—"Send me as much gold as is needed for its construction and equipment". The Assyrian has his own grievance, and is not slow to mention it. It is the kind of grievance that you would expect from the pushful young parvenu among these ancient monarchies, who is not at all sure of his position, and therefore blusters all the more about his claims to it. He has heard that "that Hanigalbatian king", his neighbour of Mitanni, who looked upon him as a vassal with about as much or as little reason as Burraburiash had for a similar claim, once got twenty talents of gold from Amenhotep III. "Surely", he writes, "I am as good as that Hanigalbatian king, and yet you have only sent me a little gold." But by far the most touching and effusive are the letters of Tushratta of Mitanni. That was to be expected, for he had been both brother-in-law and father-in-law to the dead Pharaoh, and now that Amenhotep IV. had taken over Tadukhipa as one of his queens, in succession to his father, he was his father-in-law as well. The relationship seems a little complicated; but such things did not trouble the Egyptian mind, or indeed the Oriental mind in general. Furthermore, he had been the most

favoured of all the sturdy beggars who had hung about Amenhotep III.'s skirts, watching for the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table. It was not every king of the east who got twenty talents of gold at one superb haul from Egypt! Accordingly he had every reason to deplore the death of his much-married friend and banker, and to plead that there should be no interruption of the friendship which had proved so profitable to him, nor any checking of the flow of the Egyptian Pactolus. It must be allowed him in all fairness that he rose quite adequately to the height of a great occasion, and that his letters at this point are worthy of all the golden past, and the hopes which he cherished for a still more golden present and future.

Here is his own account of his grief at the loss of his old friend, and his gratification at the thought that Amenhotep had left a son to succeed him. "When Nimmuria (Neb-maat-ra, Amenhotep III.) had gone to his destiny. . . . I wept on that day. I sat unmoving through the midst of that night; neither meat nor drink gave me any enjoyment, and I had sorrow. . . . If only my brother whom I loved and who loved me were alive again! . . . But when Napkhuria (Neb-kheperu-ra, Amenhotep IV.) the mighty son of Nimmuria by Tiy, his consort, the Great One, wrote to me saying, 'I have succeeded to the kingly authority', then said I, 'Nimmuria is not dead! Now hath Napkhuria, his mighty son by Tiy, his consort, the Great One, sat him down in his place, and he will not suffer anything to be changed from its place where it was before'."

It is not necessary to suppose that these highly proper and affecting expressions are merely formal on Tushratta's part. The dead king had been a good friend to him in more ways than one, and he had every reason to deplore the loss of so accommodating a treasurer and so powerful a friend. Realising what was Tushratta's actual position, and how short was the step between him and death, one can well understand the eagerness with which he suggests, and tries to persuade himself as well as others, that nothing was altered by the change from one Pharaoh to another, and that he was as sure of Egyptian support under the new

conditions as under the old. He was to need all the support he could get, and a good deal more than he got, before very long!

Again and again throughout his letters to the new Pharaoh and to Queen Tiy, to whom he writes directly, the anxious Tushratta expresses the fervent wish that the friendship between the two thrones may be even ten times greater than it was in the days of the late king; and we may be quite sure that he was speaking out of the depths of his heart, whatever may have been the case with the other kings who expressed similar wishes. After all, however, the main thing that the Egyptian friendship had always been useful for was to provide gold for a needy king's straits, and Tushratta had no intention that Egypt should get out of the habit for lack of being reminded of it. And so, even in the depths of his sorrow, and with the (doubtless quite genuine) tears streaming down his cheeks, he contrives to remind the young king that he has a needy relative in Mitanni, and that "in my brother's land gold is as common as dust". Interesting as are all the letters of these kings of the east, there can be no doubt that Tushratta holds the foremost place as a correspondent, as was quite natural, looking to the closeness of the relationship between himself and the Egyptian kings. One can only regret that his letter-writing was so soon to be cut short by the stroke of untimely death, and that so many of the letters which he had actually written have probably been lost to us by the misplaced scepticism of the authorities to whom the Amarna tablets were first offered for inspection and purchase.

To all appearance, then, the external situation, so far as the great powers of the east were concerned, was perfectly tranquil, and if there were indications of a less satisfactory state of affairs with regard to the northern provinces of the Asiatic empire, things were probably no worse there than they had been at any time during the last decade. All depended upon the personal character of the new king, and the influence which he would exert upon the international situation. To all appearance there was nothing to prevent Egypt from continuing to hold the

primacy of the ancient world as she had already held it for so long—provided the king would allow his country to exercise her legitimate influence to the full, and would depart from the inertness which had characterised the later years of his father's reign.

Before long it was to become apparent that Amenhotep IV. was not in the least minded to play the part of King Log, and to allow things in his dominion to go as they pleased. He was to prove much more of the King Stork type, with a very decided opinion of his own as to the moulding of events within his realm—an opinion whose reactions upon the foreign policy of Egypt were of the most pronounced and disastrous type. For a short time, however, there was no very pronounced indication of the tremendous changes which were to follow upon the change of king. If we believe that Amenhotep IV. was already mature when he came to the throne, one can only account for his apparent delay in carrying out the reforms which he had at heart on the supposition that he was unwilling to move until he had found his feet and shaken off the temporising influence of his father's counsellors. On the other hand, if he was the mere boy whom he has been supposed to be, it is quite natural to suppose that at this stage he was still under the influence of his mother Queen Tiy, and that, with her experience of human nature, she was well aware of the fact that even a Pharaoh must take account of the prejudices of his subjects, and the difficulty of moving the inert mass of people who are contented with things as they are. There can be little doubt, in view of the actual facts which are known about the progress of Atenism in her husband's reign and its close connection with royalty, that she was a devotee, though perhaps far from a fanatical devotee, of the new creed; but she was also a wise woman, who may have been better pleased to see Atenism make its way, as it had been doing, by gradual penetration, than to see it thrust upon an unprepared and largely unwilling people by the fiat of an untried youth.

The influence of Queen Tiy, as we have seen, has been questioned; but it is quite vain to talk about the repeated mentions of her in the letters of Tushratta as if they im-

plied nothing more than that she was acquainted with the friendship between the Mitannian king and her husband. They go much further than that, and imply quite clearly that Tiy had been her husband's confidante on all questions of foreign relationship, and that it was expected that in the meantime she would continue to hold a similar position in the councils of her son. "As to all the words of Nimmuria thy father, which he wrote to me, Tiy, the Great Wife of Nimmuria, the Beloved, thy mother, she knows all about them. Enquire of Tiy, thy mother, about all the words of thy father which he spake to me." This is something very different from the mere statement that Tiy would remember the friendship between the two kings which it has been made out to be. Still more clear is the statement from another of Tushratta's letters: "All the words together, which I discussed with your father, Tiy, thy mother, knows them all; *and no one else knows them*". If such a statement does not imply a special influence exercised by Tiy, and an exclusive influence (so far as concerns the relations between Egypt and Mitanni), then words have no meaning. And as these relationships were at the very root of Egyptian foreign policy, it may be assumed that Tiy's influence was not confined to this one sphere.

This, however, is a very different thing from claiming that Tiy was at the back of the religious revolution which was so soon to break upon Egypt. It seems much more likely that she was, as I have suggested, a moderating influence, and that the intensifying of the Aten propaganda, and the open outbreak of strife between the new faith and the old, marks the period when the young king took the direction of things completely into his own hands, and refused to temporise any longer with the priesthood and the cult of Amen.

On the whole, then, it seems likely that during the early years of the reign the young king, quite probably no more than a boy in years, though already occupied with thoughts and convictions of deep import to an extent far beyond his years, was largely guided and restrained by the counsels of his mother and of the advisers who had surrounded his father's throne. Whatever his age, he was

unquestionably of a delicate and sickly habit of body, with an over-developed brain which was already maturing ideas of the nature of Godhead and its relation to humanity—ideas which came to be held at last with a fervour of conviction which made the fate of empires and kingdoms and the lives of individuals seem as the small dust of the balance in comparison with them.

Of the other influences surrounding the young Pharaoh, we know a little where we would like to know much. The king's nurse, also named Tiy, occupied at court a position of some importance. Her husband, Ay, held a comparatively humble rank in the priesthood, that of "Divine Father". Probably in virtue of his wife's relation to the king, he held several court-offices, and was "Fan-bearer on the right of the King, master of the horses of His Majesty, his truly beloved scribe". The fan-bearership, though it would be shared with several other individuals, some of them, doubtless, of much higher rank than the Divine Father, was a position which gave the holder of it access to the Pharaoh in a more intimate manner than that of most other offices; and Ay evidently understood how to make the most of its advantages. He and his wife remain very much in evidence throughout the reign as fervent devotees of their master's new creed; and after the ephemeral reigns of Semenkharu and Tutankhamen, Ay, who must by this time have been an old man, was sufficiently powerful to seat himself upon the throne. That he did so as a pronounced reactionary and apostate from the convictions of his late master has suggested sinister suspicions as to his responsibility for the eclipse of the royal household which he had once served; but, after all, Ay only did what all the other time-servers of the Egyptian court were doing, once Atenism's cause was manifestly lost; and if he made more out of his apostacy than others, that merely shows that he was a more astute observer than they of the evolutions of the jumping cat. In the meantime, he and his wife were prominent and devoted adherents of the king and his new ideas, and it may be doubted if the influence of a self-seeking priest and a harem lady were the most satisfactory of atmospheres to



PAININGS FROM TOMBS OF (1) MENNA AND (2) USERHAT
(Chapter XXXII.)

surround a sensitive and highly strung lad at the start of his heavy task.

Indeed it can scarcely have been otherwise than that the young king should have been largely a product of harem influence. He had no full brothers to knock the overstrained ideas as to his destiny out of his head after the manner of brothers, but was the lonely idol of a family of adoring sisters and a vast household of women, who would no more have dreamed of crossing his whims than of turning back the sun in its course, and of whom no small proportion were natives of a land in which Egypt's gods were aliens, and some of the revolutionary ideas about religion possibly not unknown. His father, manly enough in his sports during his early days, developed into an uxorious and sybaritic fainéant in later years. Altogether it would probably not be going beyond the facts to say that a great deal of the impracticability and pig-headedness which characterised the reign, and which, above all, made its attempts at religious reform a disastrous failure, was due to the fact that the new king was, both in his good qualities and his defects, the result of woman's influence and training. Had he been brought into contact, when his character was being formed, with the hard facts of life, and with the hard men with whom a ruler has to reckon, he would have been less likely to run his head against stone walls in the persistent fashion which he did, with results disastrous both to his kingdom and to himself.

After the young Pharaoh himself, the most interesting figure of the reign is that of his queen, Nefertiti, to whom he was married at a very early stage of his kingship. Her name signifies "The Beautiful One has come", and for once, at all events, there is no irony in a title so dangerously lending itself to irony under most conditions. For once, also, a great historic reputation for beauty has proved itself to be thoroughly deserved. The Denderah portrait of that other famous Egyptian queen of beauty, Cleopatra, leaves one very much at a loss as to the source of that amazing charm which she exercised over the hearts of men; and the same may be said of our own Mary of Scotland, so far as can be judged from the starched and anaemic portraits of

her which have survived; but the beauty of Nefertiti makes an instant appeal, and is characterised by that delicacy, touched with a hint of pathos, which has always proved most attractive. Fortunately she is perhaps more adequately represented than almost any other heroine of antiquity by the likenesses of her which have been discovered. The German expedition which was excavating at Tell el-Amarna immediately before the war discovered and appropriated there, among other treasures from a sculptor's workshop, two remarkable portrait heads of Nefertiti, which must unquestionably be classed among the supreme masterpieces of ancient sculpture in the round, and particularly of that art of portrait-sculpture in which the Egyptian masters led the world.

The bust in painted limestone, which is probably more familiar to the general public than almost any other ancient work of art, is perhaps the more attractive of the two portraits; but the head in brown sandstone, though less known, and making a less instant appeal because of its material, is scarcely inferior in beauty to its companion. Both present features of exquisite modelling and delicacy, with an expression of great refinement, not untinged with a gentle melancholy. Here, obviously, is a royal lady about whom we should like to know a great deal; but unfortunately we know next to nothing about the history of this personality which art has so vividly presented to us.

We do not even know for certain whether she was a native-born Egyptian or not, and it has been maintained that she was a Mitannian princess, and is, indeed, to be identified with that Tadukhipa, daughter of Tushratta, whom Amenhotep III. sought as a wife in his later years. It is absolutely certain that the marriage of Tadukhipa to her somewhat elderly bridegroom took place, for Tushratta in one of his last letters to Amenhotep distinctly refers to her as the wife of the Egyptian king: "With Tadukhipa, my daughter, thy wife, whom thou lovest, may it be well!" (K 23). It is equally certain that she was also married to Amenhotep IV. on his accession, for Tushratta writes in his letter to Queen Tiy (K 26): "With Tadukhipa, my daughter, thy daughter-in-law, may it be well!" This con-

fusion of relationships, however shocking to our ideas, presented nothing but a perfectly natural and rational arrangement to the Egyptian mind. But, having thus been queen of two Pharaohs in quick succession, Tadukhipa disappears from the scene at once, and is never heard of again. Therefore, it is argued, she must have taken an Egyptian name upon her second marriage, and she reappears as Nefertiti.

Plausible as this argument appears for the moment, it entirely leaves out of sight the fact that Tadukhipa was not the only Mitannian princess who was married to an Egyptian Pharaoh, and that her aunt Gilukhipa or Kirgipa disappears as completely as herself, when once the proclamation as to her arrival in Egypt has been published. Tushratta, her brother, mentions her in his letters as he mentions his daughter, and sends her a gift; but the Egyptian records make no more mention of her than if she had never existed. The inference is obvious, that both Amenhotep III. and Amenhotep IV. never regarded their Mitannian princesses as more than secondary wives, and that we have to look elsewhere for the real Nefertiti. Where we should look can scarcely be doubtful to anyone who has compared the two busts of Nefertiti just mentioned with the extant portraits of her husband, and particularly with the famous limestone bust of the king, now (with the busts of his wife) in the Berlin Museum. Family likeness was never more clearly declared than by these three portraits. Feature by feature the three resemble one another in the most convincing fashion, while the general tone and spirit of them is even more convincingly similar than the resemblance in detail. Unless the sculptor of the Amarna workshop was lying, or producing a merely conventional representation—an idea to which the portraits themselves give an instant denial—there was the very closest blood-relationship between the young Pharaoh and his queen.

Further, Legrain has quoted an inscription which refers to Nefertiti as the daughter of Queen Tiy, and the titular of the young queen asserts her position as queen in her own right in a manner which is restricted to queens who were of the pure solar stock of the native royal line.

These facts seem to be conclusive, and we must accept Queen Nefertiti as having been full sister to her husband. Again we must realise that such marriages seemed perfectly natural and right to Egyptian eyes, and that they do not, in point of fact, seem to have produced the disastrous results which we have been in the habit of expecting from such a course of continuous inbreeding.

Of Nefertiti's history we know almost as little as of her personality. That she adhered to her husband's religious views is unquestionable, and, indeed, if the view just stated as to her origin is correct, anything else was scarcely to be expected from her upbringing. She appears side by side with her husband in all scenes depicting the religious ceremonies at Tell el-Amarna, and is specially referred to by name on all the boundary steles of the new capital in a fashion which puts her acceptance of the new faith beyond question. That the development of her views, or her acquiescence in those of her husband, kept pace with the growing thoroughness of his convictions, we see from the addition which is made to her name on all the later monuments of the reign. At first she is simply called Nefertiti; at a later stage a new name, Neferneferuaten, "Beautiful-are-the-Beauties-of-the-Aten", is prefixed to the old name, and is enclosed with it in the royal cartouche. Within the last few years, however, an idea has grown up, in consequence of discoveries made by the excavators of the Egypt Exploration Society's expedition at Tell el-Amarna, that disagreement occurred between husband and wife in the later years of the reign, and that Queen Nefertiti may even have separated herself from her husband and given her support to the opposition party. This theory must be discussed later when we come to deal with the new capital in which the king embodied his religious convictions; meanwhile it is sufficient to say that the evidence does not seem sufficient to bear the theory which has been built upon it.

We have seen that the beginnings of the reign did not seem to promise the complete overthrow of current religious ideas and practices which finally marked it. Yet the very first undertaking of the king was one which, while it was not entirely inconsistent with the easy tolerance with

which the Egyptian gods were accustomed to regard the presence of the fellow divinities of the pantheon within their own particular spheres of influence, was probably viewed with profound suspicion and jealousy by the most influential and powerful section of the population of Thebes. This was the erection within the very sphere of Amen's supremacy, at Karnak, of a shrine to the Aten, the god of the king's new faith. Possibly the step was not quite the novelty which it has been thought to be, in view of the fact, already referred to, that one of the blocks which formerly belonged to this temple proves to have borne the cartouche of Amenhotep III., so that we must conclude that a shrine to the Aten already existed in Thebes before the change of religion was made official; but at the very least, the inscription at Silsileh shows that extensive additions were made to the already existing structure, while the fact that the whole court circle, more or less, was committed to complicity with the royal wishes by being employed in the erection of the new shrine was an indication that Amenhotep IV. was not going to be content with having a mere secondary position conceded to the object of his faith, even in the stronghold of Amen and his priesthood.

During the whole course of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the local god of Thebes, Amen, "The Hidden One", had gradually been rising from his original position as god of a comparatively unimportant provincial town into that of god of the capital of the greatest of world empires, and of the royal line which had created the empire. The victories of the conquering Pharaohs were attributed entirely to his patronage, and the conquerors did not forget to dedicate to the divinity who had given victory to their arms a substantial proportion of the spoil, both in treasure and in captives, which they brought back with them from Asia. The great inscription of Thothmes III. on the back of the south wall of Pylon VI. at Karnak gives some idea of the scale on which these gifts to Amen were made by the great soldier. After describing the three great "feasts of Victory" which were established to commemorate his triumphs, and the oblations which were made to the god on these occa-

sions, he tells us of the gift of 1578 Syrian captives as temple slaves to the god, of the grant of three cities in the Lebanon whose tribute went direct into the treasury of Amen, and of the bestowal of great quantities of gold, silver, and precious stones, together with all kinds of other offerings. His successors were not behind hand in following his example, and, by the time with which we are dealing, the position of Amen was far superior to that of any other god, and his revenues and resources, though they were still far from having reached the monstrous disproportion to the national income which they attained at a later stage, were yet so great as to constitute the priesthood of Amen by far the most powerful body in the Egyptian state, and conceivably a distinct menace to the power of the throne, if a disagreement between state and church should ever come about. It must, therefore, have been a distinct shock to the pride and the position of the Amen priesthood when it was made apparent, by the king's action, that he not only meant to lend to a new creed and a new god the somewhat lukewarm support which the Aten and Atenism had received from Amenhotep III., but was intending to use the whole court circle as the instruments of the aggrandisement of his new favourite among the gods.

Yet the position was a somewhat difficult one for the priests of Amen, and it was for the time impossible for them to show the full resentment which they certainly felt at this invasion of the rights and privileges of their god. For Egyptian religion generally was of an extremely tolerant type, and the old gods were, without exception, of an accommodating temper with regard to the claims of their brother divinities to recognition. Each one of the great gods, such as Ptah of Memphis, Khnum of Elephantine, Neith of Sais, or Ra of Heliopolis, claimed to be supreme within his own locality, and, in theory, laid claim also to a certain supremacy which was not limited locally. But he was at the same time perfectly tolerant of the claims of his fellow gods to be recognised within their own spheres, and not only so, but even admitted them to recognition within the special sphere where he claimed to be supreme. Thus each great city had not only a temple or

temples to its own local god, but also temples or shrines to one or more of the gods of other cities or localities. Thebes was no exception to this rule of tolerance, and while the vast temples of Amen at Karnak and Luxor far exceeded in magnitude and splendour the shrines of the other gods in the city, still several of his brother divinities had a recognised position at Thebes, and it was even required by priestly etiquette that, on the occasions when Amen made his festal processions through the streets, he should pay a formal visit to his brother Ptah, whose temple formed one of the "stations" of the god on his journey.

Accordingly the priesthood of Amen was handicapped by tradition when the king decreed that his new god should also have his appointed house in the capital. What had from time immemorial been conceded to other gods could scarcely, with any decency, be refused to the Aten, however much the priests may have wished in their inmost hearts to withhold it from this interloper who was being forced upon them. The king and the adherents of the new faith had put them in a bad strategic position, and they were obliged to tolerate a thing which they hated, though, no doubt, their feelings were all the bitterer towards the court god because they could not afford to express them in action: There is no evidence, therefore, that at this stage there was any open opposition to the new views of the Pharaoh and to their embodiment in the shrine, which the Amen priesthood must have regarded as an insult to their god and their own pride of place.

(The temple of the Aten which was thus planted in the citadel of Amenism bore the marks of the fact that the development of the king's heretical ideas had not yet reached the completeness of his later years. He is still called Amenhotep—a name which, of course, was banned at a later stage. The name of the Aten, where it appears in the inscriptions, is not surrounded with a cartouche, as it was in all later records, and there is no mention of the title, "Ankh-em-Maat", "Living-in-Truth", which Amenhotep was so fond of using in later days. The building was of sandstone, and its size must have been considerable, to judge from the scale of some of the carvings which have

been recovered. It is evident that it was built in haste, for the great blocks which the Pharaohs so much prided themselves on using wherever possible were not used in its construction. Their place was taken by small blocks which could be quickly handled, and deficiencies were hidden beneath a coat of smooth plaster. Many of the carved blocks of the temple, which, of course, was at once overthrown on the triumph of Amenism at the king's death, were re-used by Horemheb in the building of his pylon, and much information as to the building is being recovered by the examination of these materials. It is probable that in its form the building did not as yet present the complete type of Aten temple which we find at Tell el-Amarna, but was a compromise between old and new ideas.

In the Silsileh tablet, to which reference has been already made, and which commemorates the quarrying of stone for this shrine of the Aten, evidence is given of the confusion of thought which marked this early stage of the development of the new ideas, possibly even in the mind of the king himself, certainly in the minds of ordinary people. The tablet bears a scene of the king worshipping Amen, while above his figure there appears a representation of the emblem of the new faith, the Solar Disk, from which radiate streams of light, which end in hands holding the "Ankh" or *crux ansata*, the symbol of life, over the head of the worshipper. Here was an inconsistency which would not have been tolerated for a moment at a later stage in the conflict between the two faiths; and though, of course, the muddle may have been due to a conscientious but confused quarry-master, anxious to be up to date, and yet unable to rid himself of the habits of the past, it helps us to see something of the confusion which the introduction of the new creed had brought into the religious ideas of the nation. That the symbol of Atenism should shine over the head of the chief of the gods whom Atenism was to cast down, shows that men had not yet formed any clear conception of the implications of the faith which was being pressed upon them by their Pharaoh. Indeed the probability is that the young Amenhotep had not himself been able as yet to think out the

problems of his faith to their logical conclusion. This is further evidenced by the fact that on blocks belonging to the Aten temple at Thebes the names of other gods, such as Horus, Set, and Upuat, can still be read.

So far we have only dealt with the fact that Amenhotep IV. was introducing a new form of religion which he wished to have recognised throughout his empire, and have not touched upon the question of the nature of this new faith and the differences between it and the old creeds of the land, differences which rendered a bitter conflict inevitable. Fuller discussion of the faith of the Pharaoh must be left to a later stage, after the facts of the conflict and its results have been traced; but there are certain points which must be stated in order that we may understand both how it was natural that a new conception of God and human relationships to God should grow up at this stage in the national history, and how it was inevitable that its growth should result in a life-and-death struggle between it and the older faiths of Egypt.

Of these, the first is that Atenism, which, as we shall see directly, is essentially a specialised form of Sun-worship, differs from all the older faiths of Egypt in the fact that it is vitally and above everything a universal religion; which claims its god to be not merely the god of one locality or city, or even of one nation, but of all nations and all men. Now, it was not unnatural that the growth of such an idea should have resulted at this stage from the development of Egyptian power and empire which had been going on during the XVIIIth Dynasty. The normal theology of ancient Egypt had practically been completely shaped and set before the imperial idea, with its consequent broadening of horizons and realisation of responsibilities, had begun to dawn upon the minds of men; and it had been conditioned by the comparative isolation and seclusion of the Nile Valley, where a long string of dis-united and often hostile communities had developed each its own individual divinity. The Pantheon of Egypt consisted of a vast number of gods which were not only purely Egyptian, but, even within Egypt, merely local. It might be hard for an observer to distinguish between the god of

one city and the god of another, inasmuch as both of them exercised the same functions, claimed the same worship, and were even served with very much the same formulae; but the god of Memphis had no claim to authority in Thebes, though at a later stage, when the kingdom had been unified, he might be received in Thebes as an honoured guest. The solitary exception to this rule was the Sun-god Ra, who, though his chief abode was in Heliopolis, had won more or less general recognition as shining on all the sections of the long valley; while the other great natural fact of the Egyptian's natural environment, the Inundation, with its consequent revival of all life and growth, was recognised in the popularity of a god of fertility and of the renewal of life, who finally, as Osiris, became the god of the Resurrection and of immortality.

Gradually, however, as the Egyptian began to move abroad beyond the narrow limits of his long valley, to Sinai, then to Syria, then to Punt, he must have become conscious that the old theology in which he had grown up was a bed of Procrustes to which it was impossible to adapt the facts which were beginning to dawn upon his mind. Then came the flood-tide of conquest under Thothmes I., Thothmes III., and Amenhotep II., opening to his knowledge and exploitation lands and peoples of which he had never dreamed before, and which offered to him a natural wealth, different from, but not inferior to, his own, and a culture which he could not afford to despise. As we can see from his art, the Egyptian of the XVIIIth Dynasty took to this new revelation with alacrity. Perhaps, indeed, it would have been better for his artists and craftsmen if they had not shown themselves so ready to assimilate some of the ideas which poured in from Asia at this time; but, for better or worse, the fact was that they did absorb them. How was it possible that their religious conceptions should escape the impact of this new world of ideas, any more than their arts and crafts had done? They did not escape; and the result was not, as has been suggested, a mere crude adoption of Asiatic religious conceptions, but a perfectly natural widening of the bounds of their vision as to the essential characteristics of divinity.

Conquest had revealed to them nations, institutions, cultures, of which their forefathers were utterly ignorant when the ancient creeds had been framed; it had become impossible to believe that the explanation of the divine and its relations to humanity was to be found in its entirety in the cramped old dogmas of the priests of Amen, Ptah, or Khnum. Gradually a race had grown up which was becoming prepared for at least a change of attitude in religion and a wider interpretation of divine relationships with man. Universalism, you might almost say, was in the air during the latter part of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

Equally natural was the form in which universalism manifested itself when it crystallised into a particular form of creed and worship. There was one aspect of the ancient religion of Egypt which was more than local, though perhaps the ordinary man had scarcely realised in the past that it might also be more than national. Osirianism, profound as was its appeal to a race which each year had offered to it the annual miracle of the renewal of the life of all things consequent upon the Inundation, was after all only a national thing; but the Sun shone on Naharin and Palestine as it did on Egypt, and Ra, who had always been something more than a local god, was now realised to be more even than a national god. It was at this point that the new faith of Amenhotep IV. took up the development of what had been a natural tendency inherent in the progress of the nation, and proclaimed a god who was God of all the world, as well as of his ancient land of Egypt, and who was to be viewed as expressing himself in the bright and life-giving rays of the solar disk. Thus there is no ground for the belief that Akhenaten wished to impose an entirely new theology upon his people, and that his failure was the result of such an attempt. Atenism certainly altered the emphasis of various aspects of religion, and laid stress, to an extent previously unknown, upon points which had been more or less neglected before. But all the same it grew, quite naturally, out of roots which went deep down in the ancient Egyptian faith, and so far there was nothing in it which was hostile to the ancient beliefs, or even alien

to the trend of the Egyptian mind, as it had been declaring itself during the last few generations.

It was the third characteristic of the king's new creed which definitely made compromise between the old faiths and the new impossible, and brought about the final shipwreck of the latter. Atenism was an intolerant and iconoclastic faith. We have seen that one of the outstanding characteristics of the old gods was that they were widely tolerant, so that they could accept any number of gods along with themselves, and concede that in their own spheres they were worthy of reverence and adoration. Necessarily so, because the old gods made no claim to universality. And if Amenhotep IV. had been content to take advantage of this tolerance, and had asked no more for his god than an honoured place among the other gods of Egypt, the storm which wrecked his life and destroyed his religion need never have arisen. The probability is that the Aten, once received into the pantheon as a highly developed form of the ancient Ra-worship, would in the end have attained, in virtue of its intimate connection with the throne, a much more lasting supremacy than the king was able to assure it by his attempt to force it exclusively upon an unprepared people. Atenism might have become an accepted working form of religion, and, winning gradually greater acceptance as its reasonableness was perceived, might have postponed indefinitely the decay and death of Egyptian religion which followed upon its overthrow.

This, however, was impossible, and the reason of the impossibility lay in the very nature of the king's faith. The Aten, just because he was a truly universal god—god everywhere and under all conditions—could not tolerate the comfortable system of identifications and transference of attributes which marked the ancient faith, and did away with questions of local jealousy. Amen and Ptah could dwell together quite comfortably in Thebes; and all over the land the Egyptian gods, if we make the possible exception of Set, lived as a happy family quite unconscious of any inconsistency in a system which gave honour to them all. But the Aten was "a jealous god" in the Hebrew

sense of the term—a sense which left no room for any other deity whatsoever, or under any conditions. He was God, and there was none else. It took the king and those who shared with him in the development of the new creed some time to realise all the implications to which they had committed themselves when they proclaimed a universal god, and we see this in the hesitation which was displayed in dealing with the names of other gods, which, as we have seen, were admitted to appear even on blocks connected with the Aten shrine at Karnak; but when once it was realised that the Aten, of his very nature, was God alone, there could be no more compromise with other systems of religion. Henceforward the struggle was one of life or death between Atenism and the old creeds, with Amenism as the outstanding representative of the latter. Unfortunately it was Atenism which perished in the struggle.

Along with the erection of the Aten temple at Karnak went that of a shrine in the other great citadel of Amen, at Luxor, so that the Theban god was challenged in the very nerve centres of his power. These steps, already sufficiently provocative, though the Amen priesthood were perhaps scarcely in a position to resent them openly, were followed by challenge after challenge which it was impossible for them to ignore. The quarter of the city in which the new temple of the Aten stood was now renamed “Brightness-of-Aten-the-Great”, and this encroachment on the claims of Amen to be Lord of Thebes was soon followed by another, still more flagrant. It was commanded that the whole capital should be called “City-of-the-Brightness-of-Aten”. The erection of the two shrines might have been passed over as merely another example of an already existing practice; but this was something which could not be admitted without conceding at once that Amen had been deposed from his time-honoured position as Lord of his own city, and, in short, giving up the struggle against the innovating religion. The probability is, therefore, that it was with the city’s change of name that the quarrel between the Pharaoh and the priesthood became open and irreconcilable.

By this time, Amenhotep had been nearly six years on the throne, and, whatever his age at his accession, he was

now reaching maturity, according to the ideas of his land. Even if he was only what we would call a youth, the probability is that his mental and spiritual development had been unduly hastened by the unnatural conditions under which he had been brought up, so that it is impossible to judge of him even by the elastic standard of Oriental maturity. His abnormally developed mind now decided upon throwing down another gage of battle before the sullen priesthood of Amen. Up to his fifth year, as is shown by a papyrus from Kahun, he still continued to call himself by the names which he bore at his accession, Amenhotep, which means "Amen is satisfied", and Neferkheperura-ua-enra, which means "Beautiful is the Being of Ra, Ra is One". With the latter of these two titles he could have no quarrel, for it not only dealt with what he might consider as an aspect of his new god, but asserted of him what the king could cordially believe. It was accordingly continued as part of the royal name, and appears unchanged on the later inscriptions of the reign. It was different, however, with the personal name Amenhotep. Consecrated as it was by its use on the part of his ancestors, and especially of his own father, it yet embodied the hated name of the false god against whose dominion the king's whole life was a protest. He could not continue to use it without appearing to lend his sanction to doctrines which he could not tolerate, and a state of things which he was determined to abolish. In the sixth year of his reign, therefore, he changed his name from Amenhotep to Akhenaten, "It is well with the Disk".

The battle was now joined, with no possibility of an armistice. There was henceforward to be no peace in Egypt, as regards spiritual matters, until the one creed or the other had definitely triumphed. That meant, in the issue, until the young Pharaoh who had provoked the conflict had broken down under a strain too great for mortal man to bear, and had been laid in a dishonoured grave. In the meantime, the initiative lay with him, and he took it with a remorseless consistency, which spared neither the glories of his nation's great past, nor his own personal memories and affections as a son. Everywhere the

temples of Amen were closed and his worship forbidden, while his name was erased, so far as possible, from all inscriptions. The proscription extended even to the abodes of the honoured dead of the land. "The cemetery of Thebes was visited, and in the tombs of the ancestors the hated name of Amon was hammered out wherever it appeared upon the stone. The rows on rows of statues of the great nobles of the old and glorious days of the empire, ranged along the walls of the Karnak temple, were not spared, and the god's name was invariably erased. Stone-cutters climbed to the top of Hatshepsut's lofty obelisks, and cut out the name of Amon to the very apex. The royal statues of his ancestors, including even the king's father, were not respected; and what was worse, as the name of that father, Amenhotep, contained the name of Amon, the young king was placed in the unpleasant predicament of being obliged to cut out his own father's name in order to prevent the name of Amon from appearing 'writ large' on all the temples of Thebes". To our minds this merciless war against names and titles may appear almost infinitely petty and small-minded; but we have to remember that it was thoroughly in accordance with Egyptian practice, and that Akhenaten had no lesser a precedent for his action than the example of the greatest of his forefathers, Thothmes III. Names, moreover, carried with them, to the Egyptian mind, a vastly greater significance than they do with us, so that the destruction of a person's name was the most effective blow which enmity could inflict upon him. Akhenaten's action, unworthy as it may seem to us, was probably exactly what was expected of him by both parties to the quarrel; and the Amen priesthood showed their belief in its efficacy by repeating it from their side when they came once more into power. It was the logical outcome alike of the king's own tenets and of the national tradition; and while we can imagine that it cost the king many a bitter pang to be forced to assail the memory of his own father, to say nothing of other hallowed memories, we must realise that there is no logician so merciless as the religious fanatic, and that his logic seems to take only the keener edge when the knife has to be turned in his own

heart. So it has always been, and Akhenaten was no exception to the rule.

In thus declaring war to the knife upon Amen and his supporters, the king may have fondly believed for a time that he was not necessarily entering upon a conflict with all the other gods and priesthoods of Egypt. If so, he would be quickly undeceived. His own thought was bound to drive him, in the end, to the utmost limit of its implications, and that involved inevitably the purging of Egypt from polytheism. On the other side of the question, there is no solidarity on earth so solid as that of the priesthood. The various priesthoods of Egypt had, no doubt, their own squabbles and jealousies during the days of their prosperity. It is more than likely that they were all more or less, and rather more than less, jealous of the supremacy and wealth attained by the parvenu Amen of Thebes, whose dignity was a thing of yesterday compared with that of the truly ancient gods of the land. But that was only so long as the sun shone on the old creeds and their upholders. The moment the clouds darkened overhead, the priesthoods of the whole land drew together, realising with perfect truth that what threatened one threatened all, and that if one was offended all must burn. Pressure both from within and from without forced the king to accomplish what was implicit in his assault upon Amen; and from now onwards the toleration which had hitherto been extended to the names of such gods as Horus, Set, and Upuat was withdrawn, and the very name of "gods" was erased wherever possible. The alienation of the Pharaoh from all the ancient religious traditions of the land was now complete, and but one thing was wanting to make the breach with the past manifest to the whole world—the departure of the court from the city which had become the visible symbol of that past in the eyes of all men. This final step was now decided upon and carried out.

If Sethe's view as to the age of Akhenaten at his accession be accepted, there is, of course, nothing that shocks our sense of the probabilities in the fact of a man who had now reached at least his thirtieth year carrying out so thoroughgoing a reform of religion as that which the king

had now accomplished, so far as decrees could accomplish it. If, however, we are to believe, as seems preferable, that he was not older than nineteen when he took the final step of removing the capital of Egypt from Thebes, we must either admit phenomenal precocity in the king, or else suppose that he was still acting under the advice of his advisers and probably of his mother. For the latter alternative, there exists no evidence whatsoever, and all the probabilities point in the opposite direction. Had the revolution been the work of the king's counsellors, we should have expected it to take a course exactly opposite to that which it did take. Mature men (or women), with their creed and its consequences already thought out before they were put into practice, would naturally have been more prompt in urging their views to the utmost extent practicable; and that extent would naturally have been a less extreme one, conditioned by the knowledge of what was practicable and what impracticable which might be expected in people of wide experience in dealing with men and things. Akhenaten's revolution takes a course exactly opposite to this. It begins with comparatively timid and tentative steps, as one would expect from a king who was only feeling his way towards the realisation of the full content of his views. It develops gradually and steadily in the stringency of its demands, *pari passu*, one would say, with the king's mental development and his increasing grasp of the significance of his own views. Finally it attains a maximum such as one would expect of a young fanatic whose devotion is unchastened by any practical knowledge of men and things, and disregards the risks that might have restrained men of the world from such rashness.

—All this is what might have been expected from a youthful reformer, imbued almost from his infancy with the sense of his own personal importance and responsibility, and deferred to from his earliest days as a god incarnate; nor need we wonder that, in a land where boys and girls barely in their teens are fathers and mothers, this overtrained lad of nineteen should have been capable of decisions which were destined to entail consequences of world-wide import. After all, Akhenaten was of much the

same age as King Josiah of Judah, according to the Hebrew chronicler, when he took up a task not so unlike that of the Jewish king; nor, to take a nearer instance, was Louis XIV. much older than the Egyptian Pharaoh when he set aside his counsellors and took the control of the state into his own hands. It is not to be supposed that Akhenaten alone was responsible for thinking out the content and the implications of the faith which he adopted as his own. The original impulse, and doubtless much of the guidance which determined the course in which the power of the new creed was to run, must obviously have come from elsewhere; but there can be as little doubt that the personal initiative of the king was the determining practical influence which moulded the destiny of his faith, and that he rapidly took the control into his own hands once he had realised the full meaning of what he had accepted in the beginning on the authority of his teachers. Akhenaten did not originate Atenism; but his part is far more than that of a royal figure-head to a great religious movement; and with all its later development he is absolutely identified, so that Atenism is bound up with him, and perishes in his downfall.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE CITY OF THE HORIZON

THE final breach with the traditions of the past on which Akhenaten determined when he decided to remove his capital and court from Thebes was doubtless inspired by several considerations. First, and probably least important in the case of a man so true to his convictions, was the fact that life in Thebes must have been gradually becoming most unpleasant, and may very well have been becoming dangerous for one whose relations with the Amen priesthood were, to say the least, strained. Akhenaten could not move out of doors at Thebes without being confronted by the shut gates of the great temples where his ancestors had worshipped and the scowls of the priests whose authority he had defied and whose revenues he had sequestered. Having regard to the methods which priesthoods in every age have not been slow to adopt in dealing with one who has incurred their hatred, it is more than likely that life for the king was none too safe in a great city whose existence and prosperity was linked with the god whom the Pharaoh had now proscribed; and in a huge populace like that of Thebes fitting instruments for the execution of the behests of the priesthood would never be difficult to find. Such considerations would no doubt weigh with the king's counsellors when the question of the change was canvassed; but it is improbable that they had much weight with Akhenaten himself.

Much more likely to impress his mind was the obvious fact that Thebes, with its whole soil cumbered with ineradicable roots of Amenism, and its atmosphere poisoned by hostile traditions, was an absolutely impossible field

for the growth of the seed which he was set upon sowing and fostering. If his new faith was to grow and thrive, it must have its chance in virgin soil, where a new and holy city might spring up, divorced from the unsavoury contacts with an evil past which were inevitable at Thebes. In such a city Atenism could grow under the fostering eye of its royal devotee, in an atmosphere untainted by the pollutions and the hatreds which were rife at Thebes, and could keep itself "unspotted from the world".

Most vital of all, no doubt, to a mind whose vision of the content of his faith had now become clear, was the fact that he was thus openly divorcing the new religion from the localism of the past, and intimating its claim to universalism. The state god was henceforth to be no longer merely an Egyptian god, but a being whose sway was world-wide. It was fitting, therefore, that so far as it lay within the power of Pharaoh, this universal sway should be symbolised before the eyes of men by the establishment of a citadel for the Aten in each section of the Egyptian empire, in Asia, in Ethiopia, and in the Homeland. The Syrian city of the Aten is so far unknown, though it has been suggested that the town of Khinatuna, mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna tablets, contains the name of the god, and may represent the place in question. The Ethiopian holy city was named, "House of Gem-Aten", and remained in existence under this name to a much later date, becoming, by a curious irony of destiny, a centre of Amen worship, so that it exhibits the extraordinary combination, which would surely have broken Akhenaten's heart—"Amen-Ra of Gem-Aten". The Egyptian centre which was now about to be established was to bear the name Akhetaten, "The Horizon of the Disk", and it was not only to be the sacred city of the god, but also the seat of the imperial government and of the court. In thus removing the light of his presence from Thebes, Akhenaten was not only inflicting a serious material loss upon the city which had proved unworthy to receive the truth which had been offered to it; he was also inflicting a very deadly blow upon his enemies for the time being. For it must be remembered that each Pharaoh

was "the Good God" to his people—God Incarnate and dwelling among them, and however the sense of separation may have become dulled by time, it must have been very keen in its first freshness. The temporary shock to the influence of the priests of Amen, whose resistance had brought about the disaster, would shake their power to its foundations.

The site to which the king contemplated the removal of his capital lies on the bank of the Nile at a distance, by river, of about 190 miles from Cairo and 272 from Luxor. The position is an admirable one for the establishment of a city. At this point, the eastern hills, which, both to the north and the south, rise so directly from the river bank as to leave little room for cultivation, receded for a distance of about six miles, leaving a small plain about three miles broad between the rising ground and the river. On the western bank of the river the plain is ampler, so that the total area available for the territory of the city is five or six miles from north to south, and about eight from east to west. Of this area, however, only the small plain on the east bank was occupied by the city, the rest being reserved as a sort of sacred enclosure, so that the holy city might stand in holy territory as a temple stands within its *temenos*. The ruins show that Akhenaten's new capital occupied pretty well the whole ground available from north to south, extending for a length of a little over five miles; but the breadth of the occupied area was only about eleven hundred yards. The city was therefore a long straggling line of buildings, extending along the river bank between the narrow strip of cultivation on the bank and the desert to the east. The reason for this disproportionate extension was that it was impossible either to invade the cultivable land, or to build out into the desert owing to the lack of water.

North and south of the city, where the curve of the hills comes down almost to the river, lay outlying villages, which may have been occupied by the guards of the sacred *enclave*, while away to the east, and close to the hills, lay a third village, which was the home of the workmen who were at once engaged in hewing in the neighbouring cliffs

the tombs of the nobles who were preparing to follow the fortunes of their king and to remove themselves and their belongings from Thebes to the new capital. Whatever the new faith might do or might not do, it made no change on the importance which the Egyptian of all ranks attached to the creation of his "eternal habitation"; and it is well for us that it was so, for otherwise our very imperfect knowledge of Atenism and its forms of worship must have been very much less than it is, for most of it has been derived from these tombs of el-Amarna.

It is possible that there may have been some foreshadowing of the coming change and the establishment of Akhetaten even as early as the king's fourth year; but this is as yet uncertain. What we know with certainty is that the official demarcation of the site took place in the sixth year of the reign. It was carried out with great ceremony by the Pharaoh himself, accompanied by his queen Nefertiti, and the record of it is given upon the boundary stelai which mark off the sacred domain of the city, fourteen of which still survive. The inscription runs as follows: "Year 6, fourth month of the second season, thirteenth day. (Then follow honorific titles, which are omitted). On this day One was in Akhetaten in the pavilion of woven stuff which His Majesty (L!-H!-S!) made in Akhetaten, the name of which is 'Aten-is-satisfied'. His Majesty appeared upon a great chariot of electrum, like Aten, when he rises in the horizon. He filled the Two Lands with his loveliness. On beginning the goodly way to Akhetaten, at the first exploration of it which His Majesty made, in order to found it as a monument to Aten, according to the command of his father Aten, who is given life for ever and ever; in order to make for himself a monument in its midst. One caused that a great oblation should be offered, consisting of bread, beer, oxen, calves, cattle, fowl, wine, gold, incense, all beautiful flowers. On this day was founded Akhetaten for the living Aten, that favour and love might be received on behalf of King Akhenaten."

Egyptian workmen, working in unlimited numbers, and with unlimited supplies of crude brick, which was the material employed for the creation of the new city, can do

marvels in the way of causing a city to spring up like Jonah's gourd; but even so, we can scarcely allow less than two years for the preparation of the necessary accommodation for the court, the nobility, the officials, and the whole administrative machinery of the empire. The growth of sufficient accommodation to supply the needs of the tradesmen and craftsmen, who would pour in upon the heels of their superiors, would be a still longer business. But, at least, the work was sufficiently far advanced in two years to admit of the royal occupation of the new palace. This is evidenced by the docket of inspection which has been added to the boundary stelai—"In the year 8, in the first month of the second season, the eighth day, One was in Akhetaten; the Pharaoh halted, shining in the great chariot of electrum, while inspecting these landmarks of Aten, which are in the eastern mountain, at the south-eastern limit of Akhetaten, established for ever and ever for the living Aten".

On the western bank of the river, the plain between the Nile and the hills was, as we have seen, of somewhat greater extent than that on the eastern bank. This area was also included in the sacred territory, very reasonably, as without such an extension the city would have been unable to command adequate supplies. The total area delimited by the boundary steles amounts to about eight miles in length and twelve to seventeen miles in breadth; but the western side was not used, as at Thebes, for the city of the dead, the tombs of el-Amarna, for whatever reason, being situated in the valleys of the eastern hills. The inscription on the great landmarks which were set up north, south, east and west, so that no one should be ignorant of the limits of the sacred territory, runs in the following terms: "My oath of truth, which it is my desire to pronounce, and of which I will not say 'It is false', eternally for ever: The southern tablet which is on the eastern mountain of Akhetaten. It is the tablet of Akhetaten, namely this one by which I have made halt: I will not pass beyond it southwards, eternally for ever. Make the south-west tablet opposite it on the western mountain of Akhetaten exactly.

"The middle tablet which is on the eastern mountain of Akhetaten. It is the tablet of Akhetaten by which I have made halt on the Orient mountain of Akhetaten: I will not pass beyond it Orient-wards, eternally, for ever. Make the middle tablet which is to be on the western mountain of Akhetaten opposite it exactly. The north-eastern tablet of Akhetaten, by which I have made halt. It is the northern tablet of Akhetaten: I will not pass beyond it downstreamwards eternally for ever. Make the north-western tablet which is to be on the western mountain of Akhetaten opposite it exactly.

"And Akhetaten extends from the south tablet as far as the north tablet, measured between tablet and tablet on the east mountain of Akhetaten, amounting to 6 *ater*, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *khe*, and 4 cubits; likewise from the south-west tablet of Akhetaten to the north-west tablet on the west mountain of Akhetaten, amounting to 6 *ater*, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *khe* and 4 cubits exactly likewise.

"And the area within these four tablets, from the east mountain to the west mountain, is Akhetaten in its proper self: It belongs to Father (Hor-Aten)—mountains, deserts, meadows, islands, upper-ground, lower-ground, land, water, villages, embankments, men, beasts, groves, and all things which the Aten, my Father, shall bring into existence eternally for ever. I will not neglect this oath which I have made to the Aten, my Father, eternally for ever; nay, but it shall be set on a tablet of stone as the south-east boundary, likewise as the north-east boundary of Akhetaten, and shall be set likewise on a tablet of stone as the south-west boundary, likewise as the north-west boundary of Akhetaten. It shall not be erased, it shall not be washed out, it shall not be kicked, it shall not be struck with stones, its spoiling shall not be brought about; if it be missing, if it be spoilt, if the stele on which it is shall fall, I will renew it again afresh in the place where it was."

Thus the new city was surrounded on every side by a sacred domain, into which nothing common or unclean should ever enter. The borders of this holy land were ceaselessly patrolled by armed guards, whose footpaths can still be traced across the desert around the amphi-

theatre of hills which enclosed the city, and, so far as seclusion and watchfulness could secure it, Akhenaten's capital was immune from contact with a profane world, and remained a sacred spot in which the development of the faith of the king could proceed, undisturbed by any ripple from the outside. It has been suggested not only that the City of the Horizon was kept pure from external pollution, but also that the king bound himself by oath never to pass beyond the bounds of the separated city which he had created. The inscription of the boundary stelai, quoted above, contains the vow: "I will not pass beyond the southward tablet of Akhetaten southwards, neither will I pass beyond the northern tablet of Akhetaten northwards, eternally for ever." It is, of course, a possible interpretation of these words to say that by them the king bound himself to a cloistered existence within the bounds of his holy city. This, however, is to put an interpretation of tremendous and quite unexampled importance on words which, after all, are capable of a very much simpler explanation. In the earlier and longer version of the inscription of the boundary tablets, the phrase quoted occurs with an addition which makes this simpler interpretation almost a certainty. "I will not pass", says the king in this earlier vow, "beyond the northern tablet of Akhetaten northward, *to make for him (i.e. for the Aten) Akhetaten therein*". This explanatory clause seems to make perfectly clear the significance of the vow. Akhenaten had appropriated for his purpose a considerable area of cultivable land. He now binds himself not to enlarge the appropriation at any time, or on any side, so that the landowners and tenants who were neighbours to him might not imagine that they were to lie under a perpetual dread of being expropriated for the enlargement of the sacred domain of the Aten.

The situation is exactly paralleled by the arrangements which the prophet Ezekiel lays down for the creation and limitation of his imaginary holy domain round about the temple at Jerusalem. "Moreover, when ye shall divide the land by lot for inheritance, ye shall offer an oblation unto the Lord, a holy portion of the land: the length shall be the length of five and twenty thousand reeds, and the

breadth shall be ten thousand; it shall be holy in all the border thereof round about." The prophet then goes on to decree that the division shall be on strictly equitable lines, and that there shall be no oppression about the matter. "My princes shall no more oppress my people; and the rest of the land shall they give to the house of Israel according to their tribes." This is just Akhenaten's provision over again; there was to be no Naboth's vineyard business about the acquisition of the holy domain, either at Akhetaten or at Jerusalem.

It appears that this is a much more reasonable view than that which supposes that the king from now onwards shut himself up within the limits of his Laputa, and allowed the rest of his kingdom to look after itself. It is quite certain that Akhenaten neglected the foreign interests of Egypt, apparently, so far as can be judged in the absence of positive evidence, because the maintenance of them would have meant war, and war was inconsistent with his belief in a god of universal love and beneficence; but there is not only no evidence that he neglected the affairs of Egypt itself, but also negative evidence of the exact contrary. For seventeen years he ruled a land whose traditional religious beliefs he was flatly contradicting and proscribing. There is nothing, in any land or time, which has proved so fruitful of civil disturbance as interference with the creed and the worship which have been consecrated by long use and wont; yet there is not the shadow of any record of revolt within the bounds of Egypt during the whole of this period. Akhenaten's dream-fabric of a universal faith of love and mercy collapsed whenever the support of his hand and his royal authority was withdrawn from it; but as long as he lived there was no sign of any organised effort to overthrow his authority or his innovations. What men thought of him and his religion is another matter, and no doubt covert opposition was rife enough; but in the absence of any evidence of rebellion in Egypt it is clear that the central authority kept a firm control over the land and all the disturbing elements within it. If Akhenaten had actually shut himself up within his little sacred rectangle, leaving the rest of his country as fuel for

the priests of Amen to set fire to, Egypt would have been in a blaze within six months. It has always been a land prompt to express its dissatisfaction with misrule or feebleness; that it did not do so, in circumstances where there would seem to have been every provocation, would seem to indicate that the fact that Akhenaten risked and lost his Asiatic empire for a principle by no means implies that he was incapable of governing his own land under conditions which did not imply the violation of his principle. In short, while there is ample evidence for believing that the king was a fanatic, there is none to prove him to have been a fool, as some of his critics seem to imagine. We may hold that his principle was quite out of place and still more out of date, and that his fanatical devotion to it cost the lives of better men than himself—that is another matter, and, after all, will always be a matter of opinion; but faithfulness to a principle is never so common that the man who has shown it upon the most prominent stage of the ancient world should be judged, *ipso facto*, to have been a lunatic.

The inscriptions relating to the founding of Akhetaten make it clear that the choice of the site was the work of Akhenaten himself, and that he was highly pleased with his divinely guided acumen in choosing such a spot for his sanctuary. The earlier form of the boundary inscriptions expresses this delight in unmistakable terms. "His Majesty stood before Father (Hor-Aten), and Aten radiated upon him in life and length of days, invigorating his body every day. Said His Majesty, 'Bring me the companions of the King, the great ones and mighty ones, the captains of soldiers . . . of the whole land'. They were conducted to him immediately. They were on their bellies before His Majesty, smelling the ground to His Mighty will. His Majesty said unto them: 'Behold Akhetaten which the Aten desires me to make unto him as a monument in the name of My great Majesty for ever; it was the Aten, my Father, that brought me to Akhetaten. Not a noble directed me to it, not any man in the whole land directed me to it, saying, "It is fit for His Majesty that he make an Horizon-of-Aten (Akhetaten) in this place". Nay, but it

was the Aten, my Father, that directed me to it, to make for him a Horizon-of-Aten. . . . I will make Akhetaten for the Aten, My Father, on the Eastern side of the Horizon-of-Aten, the place which he did enclose for his own self with cliffs, and make a *hryt* in the midst of it that I might offer to him thereon; this is it.' ”

Not only the king, but his family and his court were to be bound to faithfulness to the place of the royal choice. “Neither shall the Queen say unto me, ‘Behold, there is a goodly place for Akhetaten in another place’, and I hearken unto her: neither shall any noble of all men who are in the land say unto me, ‘Behold, there is a goodly place for Akhetaten in another place’, and I hearken to them, whether it be downstream, or southward, or westward or eastward. I will not say, ‘I will abandon Akhetaten, I will hasten away, and make Akhetaten in this other goodly place for ever’. Nay, but I did find this Akhetaten for the Aten, which he had himself desired, and with which he is delighted for ever and ever.” Again the Holy Place of Atenism finds its later parallel in the divine choice of Jerusalem—“For the Lord hath chosen Zion; he hath desired it for his habitation. This is my rest for ever; here will I dwell; for I have desired it” (Ps. cxxxii, 13, 14).

Wordy though the old inscription is, another quotation may be given, in view of the pathetic interest attaching to its forecast of the future, so strangely at variance with the actual fact. “There shall be made for me a sepulchre in the Eastern mountain; my burial shall be made there in the multitude of jubilees which the Aten, my Father, hath ordained for me, and the chief wife of the King (Nefertiti) shall have her burial made there in that multitude of years . . . and the burial of the King’s daughter, Merit-aten, shall be made in it in that multitude of years. If I die in any town of the north, west, south or east, in the multitude of years, I will be brought, and my burial made in Akhetaten. If the Great Queen (Nefertiti), who lives, die in any town of north, south, west or east, in the multitude of years, she shall be brought and buried in Akhetaten. If the King’s daughter, Merit-aten, die in any town of north, south, west or east, she shall be brought and buried in

Akhetaten." Few forecasts of the future have been more utterly falsified by the actual event. Instead of the "multitude of jubilees", and "that multitude of years" which he foresaw for himself and his loved ones, there remained to him but twelve years or less when he wrote the words, and of these the last half at least were destined to be harassed and evil. Instead of his honoured burial in the Holy City of his choice, he was to find a hasty and shameful huddling away in the tomb of another in the Valley of the Kings close to that Thebes from which he had departed in anger, and which stood for all that he hated. Even there he was not to be allowed to rest in peace beside the mother whom he revered; but her body was to be withdrawn from his polluting presence, and his name was to be cut from his funeral trappings, so that immortality might be denied him in the other world. We may think what we choose about the man and his acts in the world; but surely even the hardest-hearted critic of his faith and his devotion to it can scarcely withhold from so complete a denial of all his hopes the meed of sympathy. "*Sunt lacrimae rerum; et mentem mortalia tangunt.*"

In the meantime, however, all was bright enough for the new faith, and the new city, and its founder; and the future was mercifully hidden. The boundary inscription has introduced us to the fact that one daughter had already been born to the young royal couple, children though they may have been themselves according to our ideas. The princess Merit-aten was the only child who had been born before the first demarcation of the site of Akhetaten; but in the interval between the first inscription and the actual occupation of Akhetaten two more daughters were born, of whom the second must have been only an infant when the removal of the court from Thebes took place. Upon the later steles (*e.g.* S) two daughters are pictured as taking part, along with their parents, in the adoration of the Aten. The eldest daughter, Merit-aten, was married at an early age to one of the nobles of the court, whose name has been read for some time as Saakare or Sakere, but has now been conclusively shown by Professor Newberry to have been Semenkhare or Semenkhara. In virtue of his marriage,

this son-in-law of the king was associated with him on the throne towards the end of the reign, and succeeded him for a short time, which used to be estimated at a year or less, but is now certainly known to have been three years. The first great sorrow of the royal family must have been the death of the second daughter, Maket-aten, who died at an early age; but her destiny may have been a happier one than that of her sisters who survived. The third daughter, Ankhsenpaaten, was married to another noble of the court, Tutankhaten, who claims, on his addition to the inscription on one of the lions of Amenhotep III. from Soleb, to have been the son of that monarch, and therefore a half-brother, at least, of his father-in-law Akhenaten. It is just possible that the claim may be literally true, though the age of Tutankhamen at his death renders this unlikely; more probably we are to interpret the words "his father Amenhotep" on the lion as merely implying a claim to royal ancestry. With Tutankhaten, his change of faith and name, and the adventures of his widow after his early death, we shall have to deal later.

Unfortunately, for the king and his new faith, no son was born to him and Nefertiti. Had there been a male heir to the throne in the direct line, it is possible, though perhaps scarcely probable, that the history of the great adventure would not have ended, as it did, in almost immediate collapse once the driving power of Akhenaten's fanaticism was withdrawn. As it was, however, the seven daughters counted for comparatively little as a bulwark against the returning tide of orthodox Amenism. It has long been known that Tutankhaten was obliged to conform to the old faith; but it is now certain that even Semenkhara was forced to do the same. A graffito in the tomb of Pere, at Thebes, refers to the "scribe of the divine offerings of Amen in the house of 'Ankhkheperura (Semenkhara)' in Thebes", which shows conclusively, not only that Semenkhara had reverted to the ancient faith, or had at least tolerated the resumption of its ceremonies in his own house, but that in his time the royal residence had already been removed back again to Thebes. It thus becomes apparent that the duration of Atenism after the death

of its great champion was even shorter than we had believed.

Next to nothing is known of the rest of Akhenaten's daughters. Burraburiash of Babylon, in one of his letters to the Pharaoh, reveals the fact that one of the Egyptian princesses is wife of the son of the Babylonian king, but is still living at her father's court. In view of the extreme youth of any of Akhenaten's daughters, save the two who were already otherwise disposed of, it is evident that the marriage must have been by proxy, and that the princess was still too young to be sent to her husband at Babylon. Burraburiash like a kind father-in-law, sends his little daughter-in-law a magnificent necklace of 1048 precious stones; but a Babylonian, whether on the throne or off it, was always a business man first and last and all the time, so the great king carefully counts the stones, and writes the number down, so that the necklace should not pay toll on the way. If the woeful tales of the Amarna letters are true, the precaution was not needless. The little princess who got this splendid trinket may possibly have been the fourth daughter, Nefer-neferu-aten; but of course this is quite uncertain, save for the fact that, coming next in order, she would naturally have been the next to be married.

With the remaining daughters, we notice the disappearance of names compounded with that of the Aten, and the appearance in their place of names which revert to the old name of the sun-god, Ra, such as Nefererura and Sotepenra. No doubt it would be making a mountain out of a molehill if we were to build on this single fact any theory as to a possible diminution of the king's devotion to the Aten during the last years of his reign; but it is possible that there were influences at work in the royal household which were making for a less narrow conception of religion and a departure from the attitude of bitter intolerance towards all other creeds, and that these are reflected in the different type of name borne by the younger princesses. Somewhere later than the twelfth year of the reign, there were changes in the royal circle of which we know nothing, save that something or other happened which necessitated changes in the inscriptions at Akhetaten; whether the

change in the name-type of the royal daughters may be linked with these is another matter.

Since the beginning of this century, the Holy City, which had already been partially explored by Sir Flinders Petrie in the early nineties of the nineteenth century, with remarkable results, has been gradually revealing its main outlines to the successive expeditions, German and English, which have been excavating on the site. Its outstanding characteristic—length and narrowness—has been mentioned, with the adequate reason for it. Apart from this, there was a fair approach to regularity in the lay-out of the city. Three main streets traversed it from north to south, and were crossed at right angles by other streets running from east to west. There was no attempt, however, to secure any more complete regularity than is implied in this rectangular arrangement, and the blocks of houses vary considerably in width, and even, in some cases, in alignment. It would appear that the haste with which the city was run up prevented any serious attempt at town-planning, and not only so, but also resulted in what the English explorers have called “a curious inconsequence of arrangement”. The establishment of a great city on a virgin site would seem to have offered a splendid opportunity for suitable grouping of its component parts, and for the separation of its industrial from its residential quarters in a manner which is impossible in cases where towns grow up, as it were, piecemeal during long periods of time. The opportunity was not grasped, however. “There is no evidence of the grouping of people of various classes or trades in different quarters of the town. High-priest rubs shoulders with leather-worker, and Vizier with glass-maker. This is doubtless mainly due to the fact that at the moment of arrival on the new site the wealthier and more influential citizens marked out their claims at such intervals as to leave more ample space for their houses and gardens than they actually intended to use, or succeeded in using. The poorer population were thus forced to fill in the spaces between the estates of the rich, for to go further afield would have taken them out of the region of easy water-supply, and involved an uneconomic increase of distance in general.”



Cairo Museum

AKHENATEN, NEFERTITI AND THEIR DAUGHTERS WORSHIPPING THE
ATEN. AMARNA

Akhenaten's Holy City, therefore, picturesque though its jumbling of palace and cottage may have been, must have lacked the stateliness of such an ordered arrangement as prevails in Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon. Great mansions, set in the midst of beautiful gardens, gay with flowers, had the cottages of poor artisans clustering around the garden walls, as the houses of a French cathedral city cluster around the great church. The houses of the aristocrats were spacious and well-planned, with great reception-halls, plenty of living and bedroom accommodation, and ample provision for lavatory and bathroom. A great house like that of the Vizier Nakht, which is one of the finest specimens of the domestic architecture of Akhetaten, measuring about 95 by 85 feet on plan, gives us evidence that an Egyptian grandee of the time of Akhenaten both understood thoroughly well how to house himself with comfort and was capable of a high degree of taste as regards the decoration with which he adorned his rooms. Nakht's mansion is, of course, an outstanding example of its kind; but the average house of the finer type ranges about 65 to 70 feet square, and is as well planned, for its size, as that of the vizier. The workmen's houses have, even the smallest, the indispensable front-hall, a living-room, a bedroom, and perhaps a kitchen, and are by no means hovels, though they are, of course, built of sun-dried brick. In this respect the greatest mansions have no advantage over them, for the Egyptian, gentle or simple, preferred now, as all through his history, to build his house to please himself, and for his own time, and to let the future look after itself.

Akhetaten was essentially, from its start to its early finish, a religious and aristocratic city; but a certain amount of manufacture was necessary to its existence. The character of its industries was determined by the two facts of its own special character as a religious centre and of its rapid growth, with the consequent sudden demand for a vast amount of decorative work. Temples, palaces, and mansions growing up like mushrooms, with an equally sudden and extensive creation of tombs and tomb-chapels of all sorts and degrees of elaborateness, meant a tremendous

call for the style of decorative work which suited the taste of the time. This ran largely in the direction of the use of coloured frits and coloured glass for purposes of decoration, in addition to the use of relief work and fresco painting. Accordingly the chief manufacturing feature of the new city was the creation of a number of works where the making of the glazed frits and coloured glass was carried on. The city was rendered self-sufficing in this respect, instead of having to seek its supplies from other towns which probably regarded it with no goodwill. The art thus established under the king's eye, and fostered by the constant demand for its products from temple, palace and mansion, rapidly attained great success. "A variety and brilliancy was attained," says Petrie, "which was never reached in earlier or later times. So far as the use of glazes is possible, this period shows the highest degree of success and the greatest variety of application."

The actual workrooms of the glass works have practically entirely vanished; yet the sites of at least two large glazing works and three or four glass factories have been identified, and their waste-heaps were full of fragments from which the methods employed could be traced; while hundreds of pieces of glass vases, found in the waste heaps of the royal palace, show the character of the finished product. It is doubtful if some of the products of the Amarna glass-workers would meet with approval nowadays—in particular, the use of glaze for making of large statues seems a quite indefensible perversion of the material to a use for which it was never meant and to which it has no suitableness. But if we have to admit that Amarna taste was not impeccable, we must also allow that there can be no question of the merit of the brilliant schemes of colour which the use of glazes enabled the local architects and artists to apply to the decoration of the great mansions, and the royal palaces and temples. The glassmaker's craft has seldom produced more exquisite specimens of its capabilities than some of the articles which have survived from Akhetaten; such, for example, as the ewer of turquoise blue, with chevrons of white and dark blue, and the four-handled vase of lapis-lazuli blue, with waves

of white, yellow and light blue, in the collection of the late Lord Carnarvon, and the drinking cup of pure turquoise blue now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

The chief royal palace of Akhetaten was situated in the northern quarter of the city, and seems to have been one of the largest of such buildings, so far as can be judged from the pitiful remains which have survived. Its whole area measures over 1400 feet in length by between four and five hundred in breadth, and is therefore almost comparable with the vast temple area of Karnak. Its great hall measured 428 by 234 feet, and compared with it all other palace halls must have looked paltry. It seems to have contained 542 pillars; but it is very doubtful if these may not have been merely the supports of the floor of the actual hall above its basement. Otherwise we know of nothing else in Egyptian architecture in the least comparable with this huge apartment, with its positive forest of shafts. One of the outstanding features of the decoration in the palace was the use of coloured glazes, picked out with gold, for the adornment of the palm-leaf capitals of the columns, "a copy of the favourite cloison work of the Egyptian jewellers, in which minute segments of rich stones were set each in a fitting nest of gold, so as to produce a brilliant device, in which every spark of colour was separated from the next by a line of gold. . . . Here the jeweller's design was boldly carried into architecture on the large scale, and high capitals gleamed with gold and gem-like glazes." So lavish a display of gilding may seem to go somewhat beyond the limits of good taste; but there can be no question of its effectiveness in the way of producing an impression of sumptuousness. An Asiatic envoy introduced to the palace of Akhenaten, and dazzled by the blaze of gold and colour, would go back to report to his royal master that, more than ever, "in his brother's land gold was as common as dust". Very striking were the naturalistic painted pavements which adorned some of the rooms, with their scenes from field and marsh life. These, when discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie, were the most complete examples of this kind of Egyptian art work; but

unfortunately they have since been destroyed by a malicious native.

South of the city, and near to the modern village of Hawata, Akhenaten had another palace or rather a paradise or pleasance, which was called Maru-Aten, "The Precinct of Aten". Love of nature and of the joys of outdoor life was always an outstanding feature of the character of the ancient Egyptian, in whose eyes trees and flowers and sparkling water were simple necessities of life. This amiable feature was, of course, accentuated by the new religion of the Aten, which lent itself, even more than its predecessors, to the glorification and enjoyment of the beauties and blessings of nature; and Maru-Aten was the expression of that joy in the wonderful world which was native to the race, and was now consecrated by the sanctions of religion. The precinct of Aten consisted of two rectangular enclosures containing an artificial lake, with a quay from which boating parties could embark, a gaily-decorated building containing a kind of water-garden, in which water-plants of all kinds grew out of tanks, a portico-temple, leading to a bridge across a moat which surrounded a small island, and a temple with an altar for offerings, which was approached between two kiosks with pillared fronts. A once well-stocked wine-cellar, in the audience hall on the northern side of the lake, showed that in this delightful pleasance Akhenaten and his court were wont to combine religion with the enjoyment of the beauties of nature, and with material creature comforts, in a manner characteristically Egyptian.

The scheme of decoration in Maru-Aten was of a similar character to that which we have noticed already in the palace; but here it was carried out with more regard to economy, and instead of the cloisons of the capitals being filled with glazes, they were filled with coloured pastes, while the edges of their borders were painted yellow, instead of being gilded. Mention of the decoration of Maru-Aten raises the question which was first stirred by the discovery, made by the British expedition in 1922, that in several places, particularly in the part which contained a sanctuary called "The Shade-of-Ra-of-Nefertiti",

the name of Akhenaten's beautiful queen had been erased, and that of her daughter Merit-aten substituted. This fact has been made to bear the weight of quite a number of theories as to domestic squabbles in the royal family during the later years at Tell el-Amarna. Nefertiti, it has been suggested, deserted her husband, and was therefore disgraced at Maru-Aten by the erasure of her name. It has even been suggested that she proved traitor to the religion of which she was a prominent supporter up to at least the twelfth year of her husband's reign, and that she was set up at Thebes as a rival ruler on the part of the orthodox Amenists.

All this, it should be pointed out, is the purest of conjecture, and the diminutive basis of evidence on which it rests is quite unequal to support it. The weight of evidence from a score of sources which points to the fact of an unusually close and tender bond having subsisted between Akhenaten and his wife is so great that much more than a single fact such as this erasure, which is capable of explanation on other grounds, would be needed to upset it. Most incredible of all is the theory that Nefertiti may have gone over to the opposition party, and set herself up, or been set up, as a rival ruler to her husband. If such a treachery on the part of the queen occurred, how is it that not the slightest trace exists of the civil strife which must inevitably have followed upon it? Nefertiti's claim to the throne, if, as seems practically certain, she was a full sister to her husband, was as good as Akhenaten's own, and the nation would at once have been rent in twain had she set up as a claimant; but the extraordinary thing about the whole story is that Akhenaten's authority seems to have remained unquestioned up to the day of his death, however swiftly his religion and its capital may have collapsed thereafter. One suggestion may be made, in view of the facts now known as to the length of the reign of Semenkhara, the husband of Merit-aten, Akhenaten's eldest daughter. If he reigned, as is certain, for three years at least, is it not likely enough that the erasure of Nefertiti's name may have taken place in the early days of his reign, before he moved his court to Thebes? The substitution of

Meritaten's name for that of her mother is quite intelligible on the supposition of Nefertiti's death having occurred shortly before that of her husband, as Meritaten would then naturally take her mother's place, as being wife of the associate-king. This, however, is merely meeting conjecture with conjecture, and it may be allowed that there is as little evidence for such a theory as there is for the defection of Nefertiti. Until there is more to go upon than at present, it can scarcely be made too plain that all such ideas are simply speculations, and that it is still safer to believe that Akhenaten, who had so many sorrows to bear, was at least spared this greatest sorrow of all, than to accept theories which have so little to support them.

The Holy City was furnished with temples of all sorts and sizes. Akhenaten's departure from the faith of his forefathers did not prevent him from reverencing their memory; and several shrines in the place were dedicated to great Pharaohs of the past, such as Amenhotep II. and Thothmes IV. Queen Nefertiti herself presided over the worship of one of the lesser Aten temples, called "The House-of-Putting-the-Aten-to-Rest". Queen Tiye, the king's mother, had a temple for her own use, as had also her youngest daughter, Bakhaten, the king's sister, while the Princess Meritaten, the heiress to the throne, had a shrine named for her. There was also the "House-of-Rejoicing" of the Aten, in the island of "Aten-distinguished-in-Jubilees", the River-Temple, and the shrine and kiosks of Maru-Aten. Most important of all was the Great Temple of the Aten, of which several representations, none of them quite easy to interpret, have survived.

In its main lines, the Aten temple followed the normal type of Egyptian temple, with the important and significant difference that the daily ritual of the god took place, not in the darkness and seclusion of the sanctuary, but in the open court, and in the full blaze of that sunshine which was the visible expression of the divinity. It stood, like other Egyptian temples, within a huge girdle-wall, and the actual temple was entered, as in other cases, by a gateway between the two towers of a pylon. The only divergence from normal Egyptian architectural practice at this point,

if the Amarna pictures are correct, is that the towers of the pylon lack the inward slope or batter which is characteristic of them in other cases. The actual temple is composed of a succession of courts open to the sky, in the first of which stands the great altar. This is a square erection with panelled sides, a cavetto cornice, and a series of rounded projections which form an edge to the actual offering surface, and help to keep the offerings in place. A flight of nine steps leads up to the altar, which is represented as piled high with offerings and flaming censers, upon which the king and queen sprinkle incense. The other courts seem to have been subsidiary to this great altar court, though there is also an altar in another of them. One feature is characteristic of them all,—open air and sunshine. The colonnades, where they exist, are no longer deep gulfs of darkness, but are only intervals of shade between courts lit by brilliant sunshine, in the midst of each of which smokes the altar, while the celebrant king, queen, or priest, performs the act of worship before all men. This feature is surely wholly creditable to Atenism—that it substituted light and publicity for the darkness and mystery of the rites of the ancient faiths.

Of the details of the life which went on for a few years in the City of the Horizon, we know comparatively little. Our information is entirely derived from the representations on the walls of the tombs; and these, as is natural, are largely taken up with the ceremonial and ritual acts which bulked so largely in the public life of the place. We see the king and queen leaning from the balcony of the audience chamber, and scattering rewards among the courtiers who had been fortunate enough to win their approbation by faithful service, or zeal in the worship of the Aten. Again they are seen driving in the royal chariots, sometimes both in a single car, sometimes each in a separate one, to the great temple, where we shortly see them officiating as priest and priestess in the ritual of their god. These, of course, are more or less parade portraits of their Majesties; but even in them there is a constant emphasis upon a homely family element of kindness and domesticity in the court life of the time. The king and queen are seldom seen

apart from one another, and they are generally accompanied by their daughters, more or less numerous according to the period at which the event takes place. In two cases the queen is actually represented as turning round in the chariot to kiss her husband, somewhat to the detriment, one fears, of the royal driving. In another case in which the royal couple are driving together, they are accompanied by a tiny princess, who leans over the front of the chariot, and prods the fiery horses with a stick. Such gleams of kindness and humour, breaking across the usually starched conventionalism of the Egyptian reliefs which have to do with royalty, are a new thing in the national art, and a welcome one.

But there are other representations in which the royal household is depicted under a more familiar guise, and in which the domesticities of the palace are presented to us as they never were either before or after in Egyptian history. Constantly the royal couple are seen sitting side by side, with their arms lovingly twined round one another, while their daughters jestingly take the places of the usual fan-bearers, or squat on cushions at their parents' feet in all sorts of natural and informal positions. One relief from the tomb of Huya is of particular interest because it gives us one of the infrequent representations of the "Great Royal Mother", Queen Tiy, who, strange to say, is seldom referred to or pictured at Tell el-Amarna. She had, however, as we have seen, a temple, the "Shade-of-Ra-of-Queen-Tiy", associated with her in her son's capital, and Huya, in whose tomb the picture referred to occurs, was steward, treasurer and superintendent of the household to the Queen Dowager. In the twelfth year of the reign she came down to Akhetaten, where she possibly henceforth continued to reside, and Huya has given us two pictures of her banqueting with her son and daughter and her granddaughters the princesses, and one of her being introduced by the king into her own particular sanctuary. Our present concern is with the first two, which are really unique in Egyptian art, so far as it deals with royalty.

In the first picture, Pharaoh and his queen sit upon high-backed chairs facing their mother, who wears all her

royal insignia, including the double plumes and the horned disk. She is described as "mother of a King, and Great Wife of a King, Tiy, living for ever and ever". Beside her, on a low chair, sits her youngest daughter, Baktaten, who is described as "the daughter of the (late) king, begotten and beloved by him, Baktaten". Her mother, who is evidently finished with her dinner, is handing something to the princess. Before Queen Tiy stands a table covered with a green cloth, and piled high with the materials of a feast which suggests that royal appetites in ancient Egypt must have been Gargantuan. Before Akhenaten and his wife stands another table, similarly adorned and loaded, and the royal couple are in the full rapture of an attack upon their meal which is evidently proportioned to the colossal mass of provisions with which it has to deal. Akhenaten holds in one hand a broiled bone as long as his arm, which he is gnawing with manifest zest; Nefertiti belies her dainty appearance by the resolute attack which she is making upon a whole roast duck which she grasps in her right hand, while she gnaws it as diligently as her husband is gnawing his bone. Beside Nefertiti sit two of her daughters, playing with one another. Huya, as Queen Tiy's *major-domo*, is serving his mistress.

In the other picture, the royal party is having an evening entertainment. Eating is over, and the king and queen, with the queen-mother, are enjoying their wine, which they are drinking with whole-hearted appreciation out of big business-like cups. Princess Baktaten stands beside her mother, while one of the young princesses stands on Queen Nefertiti's footstool, leaning back against her mother's knee, and another, standing on the floor, is slyly helping herself to some of the cakes which are piled up on a low stand. Huya is directing the servants who are serving the wine, his wand of office in his hand. The room is lighted up by six big lamps, which flare on the top of tall stands. It is worthy of notice that Queen Nefertiti is here described as "The heiress, great of favour, Lady of grace, charming in loving kindness, Mistress of South and North, the Great Wife of the King, whom he loves, the Lady of the Two Lands, Living for ever and ever". This is in the

twelfth year, so that not very much time is left for the development of that treachery and for that fall from grace which has been suggested as the unhappy close of the idyllic union of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Furthermore, if there was such a tragedy, how does it come about that such a description of Queen Nefertiti as the above was left to stand unerased?

Altogether, the picture which is presented by the Amarna representations of court life in the new capital is not only a new thing in Egyptian art, it is also a very charming and unconventional thing in itself, of a type quite unusual in the conception of Egyptian royalty. Akhenaten and his wife and children loved one another, and were not in the least ashamed to let the world see that, while they were royal personages, they were also human beings. Whether their simplicity in this respect did any good to their cause in the end is another matter. Probably it did not. Egypt had so long been accustomed to see its Pharaohs and their Queens set on high at an awful distance from common humanity that it probably did more harm than good to have royalty thus suddenly presented as being of the same clay as other folks. Had Atenism finally won its case, and succeeded in establishing itself, the naturalism which the King was evidently trying to introduce into human relationships, as well as into the national art, would have been all to the good; as it was, one imagines that he only weakened the power of the throne and diminished the respect in which it was held, thus preparing the way for the reaction. Akhenaten was in the right, of course; but to be right too soon is often more fatal, for the time being, than to be wrong with the majority.

In the meantime, however, one is at liberty to believe that for a few years, and before the dark clouds drew across the sky, and the dreary news from Asia steadily drove home to Akhenaten the conviction that his world was not ready for the truths he had tried to force upon it, and that his reign had been a failure, life in the great palace of Akhetaten must have been a singularly happy and innocent thing. Everything speaks of the exceptional tenderness of the affection between the Pharaoh and his queen.

The language of the inscriptions goes far beyond that of mere formal honour. Nefertiti is never named without some endearing epithet. One of the royal oaths is, "As my heart is happy in the Queen and her children". She is "The Lady of Grace", "Fair of Countenance", "Mistress of the King's happiness, Endowed with favours, at hearing of whose voice One (Pharaoh) rejoices, Chief Wife of the King, beloved by him". The world has pretty unanimously resolved not to accept tales of love romances in royal palaces without a substantial discount, and generally looks with something like derision on those who believe in them; but it may be admitted that at least the picture of Akhenaten's relations with his queen is thoroughly consistent with itself, and that, if things were not happy in Akhetaten, the king whose motto was "Living in Truth" was actually a finished hypocrite.

But whether we take the Amarna pictures and inscriptions at their face value or not, there can be no doubt of the gradual and steady darkening of the horizon as time wore on. What may have been the ground idea which determined Akhenaten's policy of retreat to his Holy City we do not know, and probably never shall. Professor Peet has argued in a convincing manner against the idea that the king's separation of himself and his court from the ancient capital was merely a political move, based on the conviction that either the throne or the Amen priesthood must fall, and having as its end the destruction of the power and prestige of Amen, his city and his priesthood, by separating royalty from all connection with them. "If we believe Akhenaten to have been a philosopher and a reformer with a new religion to preach or at least to practise, it is no longer necessary to ascribe a political purpose to his action; indeed this latter hypothesis would hardly be consonant with what we know on other grounds of his character, for the man who could sit singing hymns to the Disk at Tell el-Amarna while the vast empire bequeathed to him by his fathers was going to pieces in Asia was hardly of that stern stuff which goes to the making of political reformers. His problem lay in Thebes. It was there that the struggle between the throne and the priest-

hood should have been fought out, and to retire to a contemplative life at Tell el-Amarna was so far from being a solution that we cannot credit the king with having intended it as one, and are almost forced to attribute it to a real religious fervour." There can be little doubt that this is the truth, for, unworldly as Akhenaten proved himself to be, one can scarcely believe that he was so ignorant of human nature as to imagine that he could overthrow the priestly power, which had for centuries been growing with the acquiescence and aid of the Crown, by running away from it. It would be a shock, no doubt, to the laity of the nation to realise that a Pharaoh had severed himself from contact or communion with Amen and his priests; but surely they would be quick to remember (and if they were not, the priesthood would not be slow to remind them) that Akhenaten was but one Pharaoh, and that a score of the "Good Gods" of the past who had bowed to Amen vastly outweighed the solitary enthusiast who denied him.

Akhenaten was essentially a dreamer, and it may very well have been that in the creation of his city of dreams he had no longer aim than to secure a place where it was possible for him to dream in peace, and realise his vision for himself and the small circle of illuminates in whom he confided. For this was precisely the weakness of Atenism—a weakness which was the ultimate cause of its downfall—that it was from first to last essentially an esoteric doctrine, making practically no appeal to the common man in whose adhesion lies the worldly strength of any religion. Atenism began at the top of society, and was content, seemingly, to end there. Yet, even so, Akhenaten may, as part of his dream, have cherished the hope of a time when the sweet reasonableness of what he believed and taught would slowly filter down from the throne through the various strata of the nation, and thence spread abroad to the empire and the world, so that all men should recognise the God who loved and blessed them all. With that end in view, he may have created his Horizon of Aten as a holy seed-plot in which the precious seed of the truth, which he loved more than either power or life, might have shelter and time to grow and strengthen. This at least offers

an intelligible explanation of his action, apart from the impossible political one, and the scarcely less hopeless theory that the king was nothing better than a selfish religious egotist, who was content to let the world perish in misery and darkness so long as he saved his own soul.

Even if it was so, and if the king had great visions of a truth which the world has even now only imperfectly realised, he was soon to find that in the world, as it was then constituted, there was no room for him or his dreams, and that the children of this world were once more to prove wiser in their generation than the children of light.

CHAPTER XXX

THE COLLAPSE OF EGYPT'S ASIATIC EMPIRE

WE saw, in discussing the foreign relations of Egypt at the beginning of Akhenaten's reign, that the greater powers of Asia showed, on the whole, a disposition to be friendly; though Shubbiluliuma of Hatti put on record his grumble at the want of an embassy from Egypt, no doubt with a view to future contingencies, which his own bad conscience would forecast. Before long, however, there begins to be a change in the tone of the correspondence. All the kings are finding fault with the new regime in Egypt; and, curiously, all the complaints point in the same direction. To put it in a word, the charge that the greedy dynasts all bring against Akhenaten is that he is stingy. Of course, it must have been a somewhat difficult thing to live up to the standard of open-handedness which Amenhotep III. had set, and perhaps it was not desirable that the young king should attempt to do so, for it is difficult to see what advantage Egypt ever gained from the large subsidies which she gave to her hungry neighbours. One would not have been surprised if a complaint had come from a single source; but when all the kings together agree in charging Akhenaten with niggardliness, it is impossible to dismiss the matter as being merely a growl from some jealous individual like Ashur-uballit, with his fling at "that King of Hanigalbat". Obviously there is more in it than that, and we must realise that the new reign inaugurates also a new policy towards the Asiatic powers, in which Egyptian gold was not going to flow by any means so freely from the Nile valley into the Riverlands of Asia.

Burraburiash of Babylon, in spite of his close relationship with the Egyptian king, is most persistent in his com-

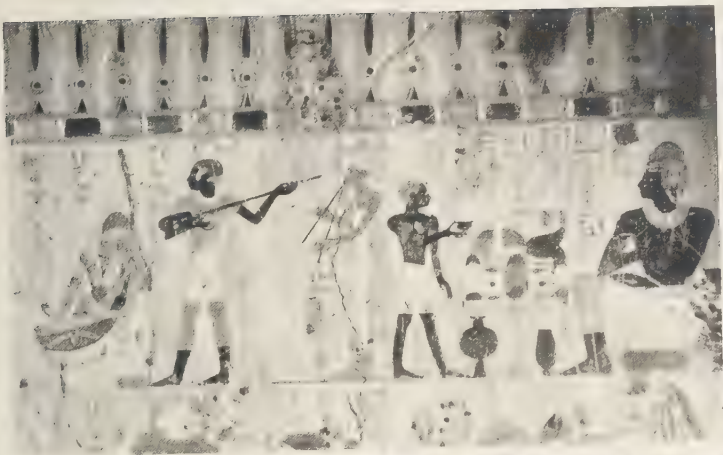
plaints about the parsimony which Akhenaten is showing. "Now", he writes, "has my brother sent me two minas of gold as a present; but now you have gold in great abundance, so send me as much as your father used to send; and if supplies are short, send me half as much as your father used to send". "Why have you only sent two minas of gold", he goes on, gloomily shaking his head at such a downcome from the easy liberality of Amenhotep III., "when you know that I am so desperately busy over my big job at the temple? Send me much gold! And, whatever you want that is in my land, you have only to write, and it will be brought to you." Just so! In his next letter, he is so indignant over this sad change that he indicates retaliatory measures. "Three times have thy messengers come, and thou hast not sent me any beautiful present at all; therefore neither have I sent thee any beautiful present." The royal bearings, one perceives, are beginning to grow hot, and the only lubricant that will meet the case is a golden one. And, alas, even when it came, the present was such as only to add insult to injury. "As for your messenger whom you sent, the twenty minas of gold which he brought were not of standard quality; when it was put into the furnace, only five minas resulted."

Bit by bit things drifted from bad to worse in the Babylonian relationships. In spite of unsatisfactory payments from Egypt, a Babylonian princess is sent down to Egypt as a wife, either for Akhenaten himself or for one of his sons-in-law; but the Pharaoh has committed the unheard of solecism of sending only five chariots as her escort on the journey.

Poor Burraburiash is as dreadfully upset over this slight as any *nouveau riche* who has not been taken up by the county in the manner which he deems his due. "A daughter of the Great King has been carried down to Egypt with only five chariots!" What will all my neighbours say, and how can I ever hold up my head again after such a disgrace? In fact neither Akhenaten nor his wife can do anything right, it seems, and poor Nefertiti gets her rap over the fingers also from the wrathful Babylonian, for not having sent to make inquiries when he was on the sick

list. "To the lady of your house I have only sent twenty gem-rings in fine lapis lazuli; for she has done nothing for me that I should requite her. She did not lift up my head when I was in distress." It is all very ridiculous, but most thoroughly human, and of the utmost value in helping us to realise the fact, so difficult to keep in mind, that three thousand years have really made very little change on human nature.

Ashur-uballit of Assyria, girding at "that Hanigalbatian king", we might dismiss as merely the grabbing *parvenu*; but it is another story when Tushratta, to whom the Egyptian connection was as the shadow of a great rock in that very weary land of his, actually has to take his courage in both hands and protest against his dear brother's niggardliness. Amenhotep III. had promised him a couple of golden statues, and things were so far advanced before the old Pharaoh's death that the Mitannian envoys to Egypt had seen the statues cast, and could testify that they were of gold and of full weight—to say nothing of the fact that there was a great quantity of gold laid aside to accompany them to Mitanni. "And he showed a great deal of other gold, without measure, which he purposed to send to me, and he said to my messengers, 'Behold the statues, and behold the abundance of gold, and the vessels without reckoning which I am about to send to my brother; look upon it with your own eyes'. But now, my brother, the statues which thy father purposed to send thou hast not sent; but thou hast sent ones which are of wood, overlaid. Also the vessels which thy father purposed to send me hast thou not sent." A dreadful downcome, indeed, from golden statues to wooden ones, and all the more annoying because of the pretence. Overlaying them indeed! Poor Tushratta found those overlaid statues sitting very heavy on his heart, though one would have imagined that he had plenty of worse things to worry over. He has to come over the whole matter once more in his letter to Queen Tiy, who surely ought to have taught her son better manners than that. "Now has Napkhuria, thy son, caused the statues to be made of wood overlaid with gold, although in the land of thy son gold is as dust."



WALL PAINTINGS FROM TWO THEBAN TOMBS. (*Chapter XXXII.*)
1. Musicians. 2. Gardeners

Plainly then, Egypt was becoming unpopular among the Asiatic dynasts to whom she had for so long acted as banker, because her young Pharaoh was no longer minded to impoverish his own country in their interests. What the reason for this change of policy may have been is another matter. It is possible that gold was no longer coming in so plentifully as in the preceding reign, though we have no actual evidence of such a decline. On the contrary, the picture in the tomb of Huya at el-Amarna shows the king and queen being borne together in their palanquin to preside at the reception of the tribute from all the provinces of the empire, and the grandiloquent inscription, dated in the twelfth year of Akhenaten's reign, makes mention of Ethiopia, the main source of gold supply outside of the native Egyptian mines, as contributing. "Year 12, the second month of winter, the eighth day. Life to the Father, the Double Ruler, Ra-Aten, who gives life for ever and ever! The King of the South and North, Nefer-kheperu-ra and the Queen Nefertiti, living for ever and ever, made a public appearance on the great palanquin of gold to receive the tribute of Kharu (Syria), and Kush (Ethiopia), the West and the East (North and South being represented by Kharu and Kush); all the countries collected at one time, and the islands in the heart of the sea, bringing offerings to the King on the great throne of Akhetaten for receiving the imposts of every land, granting to them the breath of life." Among the other articles of tribute from Kush, such as ivory and ebony, appear rings of gold and bags of gold-dust, as usual. Of course such a representation must not necessarily be taken at its face value. Egypt certainly had no control at this time of the "Islands in the heart of the sea" (if she ever had), and the mention of them is merely the usual bit of brag. We have reason to doubt if the tribute from Kharu was coming in with such regularity, in view of the revelations which the Amarna letters are giving us at this time of the troubled state of Syria. But, on the other hand, there is no valid reason to question the reality of the tribute from Kush, as no evidence exists of any rebellion there.

The probability is that the real reason for the drying-up

of the stream of subsidies was that Akhenaten needed all the gold he could get for his own purposes. With a new capital to build, with temples to build and equip and endow, not only in Egypt, but in all parts of the empire, one can well imagine that he was finding that, though gold might be as common as dust in his land, it was none too common for all the work he had to do with it. Not even Cræsus could have built a Holy City and endowed a new religion over all his empire without finding his resources somewhat strained. The only apology that need be offered for Akhenaten's apparent parsimony is that he had other things to do with his money, and concluded that charity begins at home. Why should he go on sending remittances to Burraburiash to help the building of a temple to a god whom he detested, when he had so many temples to build at home and abroad to a god whom he loved, or help Ashur-uballit to build a new palace when his own one at Akhetaten was not yet finished? There is no need whatever to think Akhenaten a miser because he kept his own money for the needs of his own realm and faith. Rather, he thereby showed his common-sense; but there can be no doubt that he diminished his popularity and that of Egypt by his thriftiness, and that it is just possible that a little gold might have been well spent in Asia, and might have eased a situation which was growing such as needed all the king's attention—and did not get it.

After all, it is perhaps more than questionable whether the old policy of oiling the palms of the Asiatic dynasts would have made much difference to the outcome of Egypt's perplexities in Asia. Her troubles did not come, in the end, from the habitual recipients of Egyptian bounty, thus untimely cut off from their life-giving Pactolus. They came from men who were doubtless as greedy of gold as the rest, but to whom gold was merely a secondary object in comparison with power. Shubbiluliuma of Hatti had no more objection than his brethren of Babylon, Mitanni, or Assyria, to receiving presents from Egypt, and could, indeed, suggest quite as ingeniously as any of them the advisability of sending him something to keep him sweet; but not all the gold of Ethiopia would have kept him from the

work to which he had given his whole life, the building up of the Hittite empire at the expense of his neighbours, and especially of Mitanni and Egypt. To think that he could be choked off with gold was the vainest of imaginings; he would have taken all the gold Egypt could have given him, and used it to overthrow the giver. Nor were men like Abdashirta and Aziru any more likely to be amenable to the mollifying influences of Egyptian treasure. They were the servants and tools of the strongest, not of the wealthiest; and Shubbiluliuma, who offered himself with spears at his back, was a likelier master than a Pharaoh whom one never saw, and who, though he might have abundance of gold, seemed to be short of spears. The one argument which would have appealed to the men who were set upon wrecking the Egyptian empire in Asia for their own profit was force; and there can be little doubt that, if force had been employed by Egypt at the right time, she might have continued to hold her Asiatic provinces for another century or more. That is not to say, of course, that she could ever have finally held them against a full-grown Assyria; but at least Assyria's growth might have been indefinitely delayed—surely with results beneficial to the world at large.

The trouble in Syria and Palestine which now began to grow insistent was, of course, no new thing. During all the later years of the reign of Amenhotep III., as we have seen, it had been growing, and the letters of Ribaddi, the governor who held Byblos and the surrounding country for Egypt, had been growing more and more doleful as the Amorite conspirators, with Hatti at their back, grew more and more confident in Egypt's supineness. The root of the whole bad business, in Ribaddi's opinion, had been an absentee Pharaoh. After all, however mild an overlord Pharaoh may have been (and all the evidence goes to show that he was unusually mild and clement for the time and the lands concerned), his yoke was still that of an alien. The Amorite tribes of Palestine and Syria had always been cursed (or blessed, according to the point of view) with an incurably tribal spirit. It was this which prevented them from showing anything like an united front to Egyptian aggression in the beginning, and which, even when they

had patched up a kind of league to resist invasion, caused its immediate dissolution on the first check which its efforts received; but it was this also which kept the Asiatic provinces in a perpetual ferment of rebellion, which tried, with almost ludicrous miscalculation of means, to take advantage of every change of Pharaoh in Egypt, or even of every period of comparative inaction on the part of the reigning Pharaoh. Later, the same spirit manifested itself in the resistance of Western Asia to the Assyrian kings. There was the same incapacity to maintain an united front against Assyrian aggression for more than a few months at a time, so that the leagues formed to meet the Assyrian advance dissolved and reformed like the patterns of coloured glass in a kaleidoscope, and the bitterest opponent of one Assyrian invasion might be the submissive servant of the next; and there was the same ineradicable passion for revolt against the established overlord, whoever he might be, so that the Assyrian conqueror's back was scarcely turned before the west was up in rebellion again.

Thothmes III. had understood, with perfect clearness, the character of the people with whom he had to do in his conquered provinces. At least half of the seventeen so-called campaigns which he conducted in Syria and Naharin were simply military promenades undertaken for the sole purpose of showing the Egyptian flag in the provinces, and letting the restless tribes see that Egypt, having come into these lands, meant to stay there. Finally, he succeeded in teaching them the lesson—for his own time—and so long as he sat upon the throne, Syria and Naharin were quiet. "There was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or chirped." So well had the lesson been impressed upon the turbulent chiefs, that a single campaign of Amenhotep II. and a single one of Thothmes IV. proved sufficient to remind them that their best policy was one of quiet submission to a master, who, after all, did not trouble them much, so long as they behaved themselves. Besides, the educative policy of Thothmes III. was now bearing fruit, and the chiefs of the provinces were now men who had been educated in Egypt, and had gained a wholesome respect for that Egyptian power which they had seen close

up with their own eyes. So much was this the case that when Amenhotep III. succeeded there does not seem even to have been a flicker of rebellion, and the visit which the king made in his early days to Sidon and the northern provinces seems to have been more for the purposes of sport than for anything else, for we must probably date to it most of the bag of 102 fierce lions which he claims to have made in his first ten years. Such as it was, it served a more important purpose than to provide material for Amenhotep's bragging. The Syrians had once more seen a Pharaoh among them, doubtless with a sufficiently imposing escort of troops; and they realised that it was no use to kick against a goad so formidably pointed. Then came twenty-six years, at least, of neglect, which more than undid all the good that Amenhotep's sporting tour had done. Pharaoh was never seen again, for all that time, in his Asiatic provinces; Egyptian troops were never seen—at all events except in handfuls, as the guards of tribute-gatherers or travelling envoys to the larger Asiatic countries. The memory of Egyptian power grew dim, and the old spirit of restlessness and insubordination began to raise its head again. To the Oriental, prestige is nothing unless it has assets to show in the shape of immediately available force; and all the available force that the Syrians saw during the latter years of Amenhotep was that of the advancing Hittite power, and the raiding tribes from the desert, Sa-Gaz, as they called them in one place, Habiru in another. Little wonder that the Asiatic provinces began to grow restive, and to ask themselves why they should continue to pay tribute to a power which, for all the evidence of its existence they had been vouchsafed, might almost have been non-existent. There were, of course, men who were wiser, like Ribaddi of Byblos, and who realised that Egypt was not dead, but only sleeping; but the result showed that they were in the minority—at least latterly. There can be no doubt that the diagnosis of the much-enduring governor of Byblos was absolutely accurate when he attributed all the trouble to absenteeism. "Moreover," he wrote to Akhenaten, "since the time when your father returned from Sidon, from that time the lands have attached them-

selves to the Sa-Gaz". "Truly," he says later, "thy father did not march out, nor did he inspect the provinces and his feudatories".

Indeed, this was the whole business in a nutshell. There was no reason in the nature of things why Egypt should have lost her Asiatic empire—at that point of her history, at all events. The local chiefs were none of them definitely committed to disloyalty. There was no reason why they should prefer a Hittite master to an Egyptian one; and probably, so far as that went, other things being equal, they would have preferred the Egyptian. They were simply, and not unnaturally, anxious to be on the side of the stronger party; and if Egypt had shown her strength, even only by a small sample of it, they would just as soon have gone on paying tribute to her as to the Hittites, which was what all Aziru's dodging and trickery landed them in at last. The situation was precisely similar to that with which our frontier officers have become perfectly familiar on the north-west frontier of India, where a single company promptly shown and used at the start of trouble, will often do with ease what a whole division will scarcely be able to do with great cost and effort at a later stage. When we hear the worried pro-Egyptian governors clamouring for the merest handful of Egyptian troops, with the assurance that if they are sent promptly they will be the saving of the situation, we recognise words of wisdom which have often been uttered by our own frontier officials—and not always listened to in Britain, any more than they were in Egypt three thousand years ago.

So far as can be judged from the Amarna letters, the situation, as regards action in Egypt, was complicated by the fact that there were two parties at the Egyptian court, one of which, unless the letters gravely belie it, was by no means clean-handed in the business, and was supporting the disloyal chiefs in Syria, no doubt for value received. The prominent Egyptian officials of Akhenaten's ministry on whom the loyal party in Syria could count for support were chiefly Yankhamu, viceroy of the Delta, and Amanappa, whose name, as Ribaddi gives it, is probably the Syrian version of the Egyptian Amenemapet. Ribaddi

writes of the viceroy: "There is no servant of the king who is a truer servant than Yankhamu"; while, for active help upon the spot—a thing of which he got singularly little—his main dependence is upon Amanappa. The chief stumbling-block to the loyalists at the Egyptian court is a great noble who is called "Dudu" in the letters—the same gentleman who is known to us as Tutu from his rock-tomb at Tell el-Amarna. His name at once suggests Semitic connections; and whatever his nationality may have been, his influence was certainly cast at court strongly against the loyalist governors, such as Ribaddi, and in favour of anti-Egyptian rascals like Aziru. Of course Dudu *may* have been perfectly disinterested in the advice which he industriously gave at his master's council-board at Akhetaten, even though the outcome of it was the loss of an empire; but we shall shortly read a letter to him from Aziru, the chief mischief-maker in the north (after Shubbiluliuma), which does not conspicuously suggest either loyalty or disinterestedness. The existence of these two opposed parties, and the consequent confusion in the advice offered to the Pharaoh by his council, must not be forgotten in any attempt to apportion the blame for the loss of the provinces. Akhenaten was doubtless primarily responsible; but he had his own difficulties, quite apart from those raised by his personal convictions, and it is not fair to blame him exclusively when we know the kind of material he had to work with, and the way in which dust was being thrown in his eyes by his own officials and advisers.

Shortly before he came to the throne, things in Syria had for the moment taken a slight turn for the better. Ribaddi's impassioned appeals for help to maintain Egyptian supremacy had roused up the home officials so far that Amanappa had been sent north with a small force to look into matters. The important sea-board city of Simyra, which, it will be remembered, had more than once been the advanced base of Thothmes III. in his Syrian campaigns, had been captured by the disaffected Amorites under Abdashirta—in itself a sign of how far things had gone, though we have to remember that Abdashirta would

represent the incident as merely another piece of disinterested loyalty on his part towards his Egyptian master, and the chastisement of a disloyal servant like Ribaddi. The capture of Simyra, however, was rather too strong a measure for Egypt to swallow as a proof of loyalty. Amanappa had no difficulty in turning the scale in favour of Ribaddi again, and went south, having shown, at all events, if only the Egyptian court had had eyes to see, how certainly firm measures would succeed. But nothing more was done, and Abdashirta, seeing that the Egyptian troops were gone, and that apparently no more were coming, took heart again, and after regaining his positions, actually dared to attack Byblos itself. Soon things were worse than ever, and poor Ribaddi writes in despair: "Gubla (Byblos) alone is left to me, and he seeks to seize it."

But now Tushratta of Mitanni decided to take a hand in the game, which, as he realised with perfect accuracy, was going soon to become one of life or death for him, whatever it might be for his distant ally. His one hope of safety against the advance of the Hittite which he had repulsed once indeed, but which he must have despaired of continuing to hold back for long by himself, lay in the maintenance of Egyptian supremacy in Syria and Naharin, so that a solid front, too formidable to be attacked, should be offered to the invader. Accordingly he resolved to intervene in the complicated game which was being played out between Abdashirta and Ribaddi, marched into Phoenicia, and occupied Simyra. Actually, this was the best thing that Ribaddi could have hoped for, for Tushratta's interests depended so absolutely upon the fortunes of Egypt that the anxious governor of Byblos could have had no more dependable ally than the Mitannian king; but so little co-ordination was there between Egypt and her allies and dependents that Ribaddi actually did not know whether he should look upon Tushratta as a friend or as an enemy. The Mitannian army advanced from Simyra, hoping to relieve Byblos; but the attempt was unsuccessful, and Ribaddi reports it to his master in a manner which shows how little he had realised that good fortune had put a chance in his hands, if he had only known how to grasp it.

“Moreover the King of Mitanni marched out unto Simyra, and sought to go even unto Gubla; but there was no water for him to drink, and so he returned to his own land.” When the man on the spot was so doubtful about Tush-ratta’s aims, it is plain how easy it would be to misrepresent them at the Egyptian court. The Mitannian probably got nothing but ill-will for his well-meant interference, and the suspicion roused against him would be fatal to any proposal to send Egyptian troops to help him against the Hittite advance.

It seemed, however, that Fate was not yet quite tired of offering to Egypt the chance of retrieving the situation. One last chance was to be offered—a golden one, had there been a man at the head of the Egyptian councils prompt enough to seize it. Suddenly we are informed, by a letter from an unknown man of Byblos to an Egyptian official, that Egypt’s great enemy has perished. It may have been Ribaddi and his men who were responsible for Abdashirta’s death, we do not know; one way or another the Amorite fell in some petty skirmish, and Ribaddi must have breathed more freely for a little, as he realised that his great enemy was no more. If there had only been a man to take advantage of this shock to the anti-Egyptian party! But Egypt was doomed to let this chance also go, as others had gone before it. Nothing was done, and soon Ribaddi was finding that he had made a poor exchange in getting Aziru as opponent in place of the dead Abdashirta; for Aziru’s little finger was thicker than his father’s loins.

Fortunately for our own interest in the story, we can enjoy all the turns and twists of this admirable exponent of Semitic guile without any afterthought, knowing that poetic justice is going to be administered to him also in the end, and that after all his successful scheming and trickery he is to go to his own place at last, and be filled with the fruit of his own devices. Knowing that all the time he imagines he is playing his own game he is actually being used as a tool by that arch-plotter Shubbiluliuma, and that when the time comes the grey Hittite spider will finally draw his net about him and suck him dry, we can admire (with a mental reservation in favour of poor loyal Ribaddi)

the astonishing game of finesse and boldness which the Amorite dared to play against the most powerful empire in the world, which could have crushed him at any moment by moving a single finger. For many months, indeed for years, Aziru must have walked on a razor-edge, and known that there was but a step between him and death; yet he played his double game with the most absolute *aplomb*, and with the most consummate impudence posed at Akhetaten as Egypt's best friend, while at Simyra and Byblos he was Egypt's deadliest enemy.

No doubt his coolness was greatly due to the fact that he knew perfectly well that he had powerful friends on the king's council in Egypt, who had what they considered the best of all reasons for helping him, and expected to have more. *Bakshish* has always been one of the most potent of advisers in the East, and anyone who can read the following letter of Aziru to the powerful noble Dudu without sniffing graft in it must be either very unworldly or very obtuse:

"To Dudu, my Lord, my Father, thus speaks Aziru, thy Son, thy Servant. Beneath my Father's feet I fall. May my Father be well. Behold! O Dudu, I have given all the desire of the King, my Lord; and whatever is the desire of the King, my Lord, let him write accordingly, and I will surely give it. Moreover, thou art in that place (Egypt) my Father, and, whatever is the wish of Dudu, my Father, write it, and I will surely give it. Behold, thou art my Father and my Lord, and I am thy Son. The lands of Amor are thy lands, and my house is thy house; and whatsoever thou desirest, write, and lo! I will assuredly grant thy wish. Lo now! thou sittest before the King, my Lord, and my enemies have spoken slanders of me to my Father before the King, my Lord. Do not thou allow it to be so. And, behold, when thou sittest as a councillor before the King, my Lord, do not thou allow calumnies to be spoken against me! Truly I am a servant of the King, my Lord, and from the words of the King, my Lord, and from the words of Dudu, my Father, will I not depart for evermore! But if the King, my Lord, does not love me, but hates me, what shall I say then?"

Aziru may be intolerably wordy, and may rely unduly

on the belief that whatever he says three times must be true; but he manages to make his meaning quite unmistakable. Dudu is to do his dirty work at court, and stand sponsor for the loyalty of a double-dyed traitor; he would find it to be to his advantage in the end. "My house is thy house" may be a mere courtesy phrase, meaning nothing, in some instances; we may be sure that it meant a great deal here. And so poor Akhenaten, manifestly the least worldly-wise of men, sat at his council-board in Akhetaten with men who were already paid to sell him and their land, and never knew that his worst foes were those of his own household; and his loyal servant, far away in Byblos, ate out his heart in hopeless longing for the help that was never meant to come, and never knew, however much he may have suspected, that his piteous complaints never reached the ear of his royal master, or reached it only by way of the poisoned misinterpretation of his bitterest enemies.

Gradually, as the Syrian situation grows worse and worse, one comes to sympathise intensely with the faithful Abdiel doing his best in Byblos in such impossible circumstances and destined to so tragic a fate. His very rage makes him seem all the more human and likeable, since it is rage against something against which the world has raged ever since, yet has still had to endure—the supercilious stupidity of the little man in office. It is quite plain that the Egyptian bureaucracy, at a very early stage of the bad business, made up its wise mind that Ribaddi was one of those nuisances of men who are always wanting things done, and who must be discouraged in every possible way by a righteous Foreign Office, whose one resolve is to continue to do nothing as it has done in the past. One is struck with a far-away suggestion of Gordon's last days at Khartum as one thinks of the sore-bested man, racked with anxiety, and realises something of how he must have raged at the thought of the sleek Dudus and their likes lolling on their ivory divans in their luxurious houses at Tell el-Amarna and then going out to the council chamber to dictate dispatches to him telling him how he ought to carry on his business, and how he ought to write nothing but good news to his Lord, the King—while the enemy was already

thundering at the gate! That was almost the last straw; and I think we need not wonder that Ribaddi found it more than he could bear, and still more greatly shocked his critics by hitting back. "If I write bad news to my Lord, then someone says, 'Why do you write bad news?'"

It is possible to sympathise with Akhenaten, who also was bearing a burden too heavy for his strength, and yet to be glad that authority once in a way got the truth so plainly told to it as in this letter, in which Ribaddi hits straight out, even at Pharaoh himself. "Why has the king, my Lord, written to me, saying, 'Defend yourself, and you will surely be defended'? Against whom shall I defend myself? Against my enemies, or against my own subjects? Who will defend me? If the King would defend his subjects, then should I be delivered; but if the King does not defend me, then who will defend me? If the King sends men from Egypt and Melukhkha, and horses, by the hand of this servant of thine right speedily, then shall I be delivered that I may serve my Lord, the King. But at present I have nothing at all wherewith to obtain horses. Everything has been given to Yarimuta to keep life in me."

After all, however, it was all to no purpose. Probably Akhenaten never heard this bitter cry of the faithfullest servant he had. "Another Jeremiad from that impossible man at Byblos", the cuneiform scribe would say, as he handed it over to Dudu to be edited for report at the council; and Dudu, remembering the last consignment of fine things from Aziru which still lay unopened in his fine house, would smile and proceed to edit it with fitting comments.

Things, of course, went from bad to worse with rapid strides. Simyra, which Amanappa had retrieved for the moment, fell once more into the hands of the rebels, and was destroyed. The fall of so important a city could not be hidden as other things had been, and even the Egyptian council woke up and rubbed its eyes. An Egyptian officer, Pakhura, was sent north with a force of Arab mercenaries; but so badly had he been instructed as to the situation that when he came his Arabs actually attacked and slew the Sherden troops on whom Ribaddi was counting for the

defence of Byblos. It was enough to drive a man mad, and Ribaddi writes very bitterly to the king about the criminal folly which had so bungled the affair. "Since that time", he says, "the city has been exasperated against me; and truly the city says, 'A crime such as has not been committed from eternity has been committed against us'." Seeing how things were going, and how vain it was to trust in Egypt, the governor's own family now began to turn against him, and his brother took a leading part in stirring up rebellion in the city. His wife and his household, as he tells in one of his sad letters, had said to him, "Join yourself to the son of Abdashirta, so that we may have peace". "I did not consent", he says, almost ruefully, "and did not listen to them". Perhaps he was now almost wishing that he had; but he was too good a man for that.

By and by, we find that he has had to go to Beirut on some mission or other; and, his back once turned, his family traitors closed the gates of his own city against him. He had one son, apparently, on whom he could still count, and he sent him to Egypt to present his case before Pharaoh; it took four months for the young man to get so much as an audience! Ribaddi was nothing if he was not persistent, however, and in some fashion—how he does not tell us—the stout old loyalist manages to get possession of Byblos again; and it is from his own city that he sends his last appeal to the master who had seemingly forgotten him. He is back in Byblos, he says; but if his brother finds out that his envoy is returning again from Egypt without help, he fears that he will revolt again and drive him out once more. There is scarcely anything more pathetic in history—certainly nothing in ancient history—than the last cry of this true man before the tide of faithlessness sweeps him down, and we lose sight of him. "Let not the King, my Lord, neglect the affair of these dogs! Truly, I am not able to come into the land of Egypt. I grow old, and a sore sickness grips my body. Let my Lord, the King, know that the gods of Byblos are angered, and that my sickness, consequently, is sore upon me. And my sin have I confessed before the gods." Yet, still, he could not believe that Akhenaten would be guilty of a folly so

incredible as the forsaking of a city so faithful and so valuable as Byblos. "So long as I am here in the city, I guard it for my Lord, and my heart is right towards my Lord, the King, so that I will not betray the city to the sons of Abdashirta. O let not my Lord, the King, neglect the city! For in it there is a very great quantity of silver and gold, and in the temples of its gods there is a great mass of property of all sorts." He has left us one sombre sentence, which, though it may not be his last word, may fittingly close the record of his messages to his master: "And the enemy do not depart from the gate of Gubla".

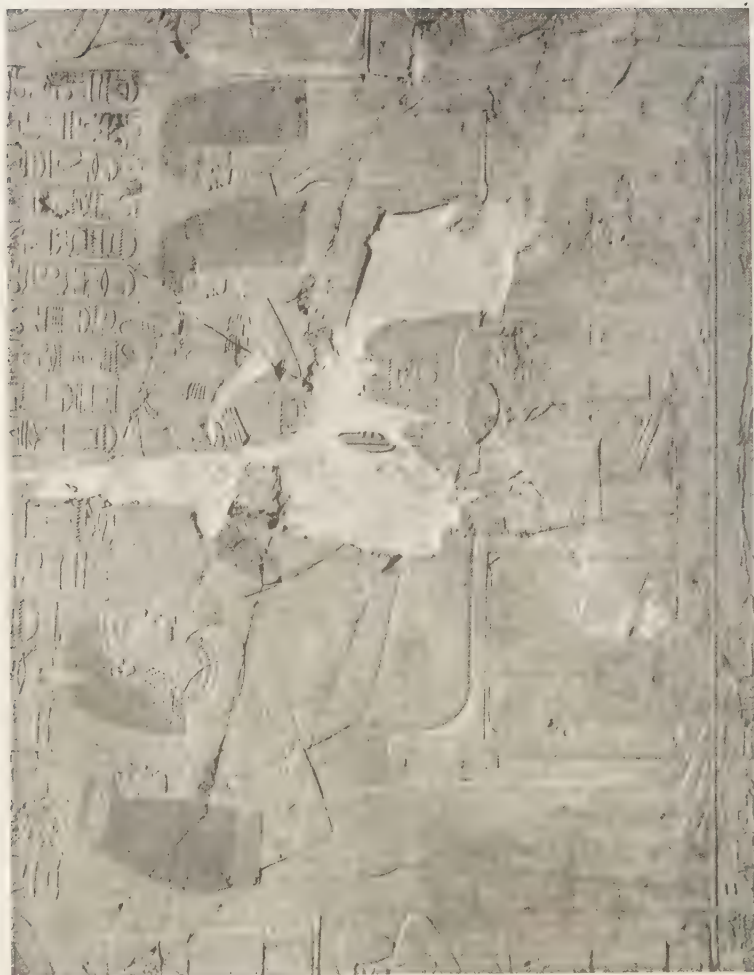
The fate of this stubborn and faithful vassal of Egypt is only a matter of inference, but of inference on such sure grounds that there is no likelihood of it being mistaken. We possess a long letter from Akhenaten to Aziru, from which we learn that Ribaddi had at last been driven to take refuge in Sidon. Zimrida of Sidon was the persistent and deadly enemy of Egypt, so that this fact itself shows the straits to which the sturdy old governor of Byblos had been reduced. Zimrida promptly handed him over to his most venomous enemy Aziru. The Amorite did not venture on his own account to slay so prominent a man, knowing that such an action would need an amount of explaining which would overtax even his ingenuity; but he did what was much the same, and handed his victim over to his own confederates, doubtless with a hint as to what should be done with him. Somehow or other this action of Aziru came to the ears of Akhenaten, who thereupon wrote to his slippery subject a long letter, which is of immense value to us as giving us the only positive indication as to the Pharaoh's view of the troublesome problems which were breaking in upon his dream of a world lapped in universal peace.

Perhaps the best that Akhenaten's stoutest supporters can say about it is that this letter is a fairly adequate explanation of how it was that the Egyptian empire was lost. Not that it is a bad letter—merely that it is a feckless one, which, under existing conditions, was the most hopeless thing of all. It is the letter of a kindly, decent, well-meaning man, who hates, honestly enough, the evil of which he

has heard, but lacks the force to take the evil-doer by the throat and insist upon the undoing of the mischief. What was needed was a hard-fisted and ruthless smiter, with whom it was but a word and a blow, with the blow coming first; and anything more unlike that than Akhenaten it is impossible to conceive. Probably by the time that the Pharaoh's letter reached Aziru that astute gentleman had made sure that the troublesome man of Byblos would trouble him no more, and the worn-out Ribaddi had found an end to all his worries; but even if it had been in time it was not the kind of thing that would make a man like Aziru see the error of his ways. Rather it would give him new confidence, as he saw how helpless his nominal master was, even in face of such a provocation. "Dost thou not write to the King, thy Lord," writes poor Akhenaten, "'I am thy servant, like all the former princes who were in Byblos'? Yet hast thou committed this crime"—and then he tells the story of how Ribaddi had been turned over to the Amorite leaders. "Didst thou not know the hatred of the men towards him?" "If thou art indeed a servant of the King, why hast thou not arranged for his sending to the King, thy Lord, of whom thou saidst, 'This Prince hath made request to me, saying, 'Take me, and bring me into my city'''."

One can imagine the grin with which Aziru read the question about his arranging for Ribaddi's visit to Egypt. He had arranged for a longer journey on the part of his prisoner. Previous to this little difficulty with Akhenaten over the disposal of Ribaddi, Aziru had found little difficulty in evading the Pharaoh's repeated requests that he should give an account of his stewardship. "Them that cannae tell the truth", remarked Alan Breck Stewart on a well-known occasion, "should be aye mindful to leave an honest handy lee ahint them." Aziru, also a Highlander, was of the same opinion as Alan, and was the most ingenious of liars. The one thing that would have cleared up the situation for Akhenaten was a true statement of what was actually happening in Syria; and that was precisely what Aziru was determined should never be given. He is summoned to court to explain some questionable

happenings in his land; but his time for appearing at court had not yet come. Gladly, so he writes to his dear friend Dudu, would he come if it were possible, "But, my Lord the King of Hatti has marched into Nukhashshi, and so I cannot come in the meantime. If only the King of Hatti would depart, then would I and Hatib come." You can imagine old Shubbiluliuma's amusement when he heard of the use which Aziru, his dear friend and catspaw, had made of his name—it was a jest after his own heart, no doubt. The capture and destruction of Simyra, of which we have already heard, was plainly rather much for the Egyptian court to swallow, and Aziru was confronted with a demand for instant explanations, and an order to rebuild the city immediately. The Amorite, like the Heathen Chinees, had wide sleeves, with plenty of kings up them for such emergencies. He produced a few to meet the need. "My Lord," he writes to Akhenaten, "the kings of Nukhashshi have become hostile to me, and for that reason I have not been able to build-up Simyra; but within a year Simyra shall be built-up by me." What might not a man of resource accomplish in a year? "My Lord", he adds in the same letter, "I am thy servant to all Eternity, and may the King pay no heed to the enemies who slander me before my Lord." The thing which stuck most obstinately in the throat of Akhenaten was that Aziru, otherwise (according to his own account) so faithful, had been making friends with the King of Kadesh, whose tradition, ever since the time of Thothmes III., had been one of stubborn and irreconcilable hostility to Egypt, and had actually eaten a covenant-meal with him. Akhenaten, in the same letter which contains the charge about Ribaddi, feels that this must be mentioned. Why is Aziru doing such things with a man with whom his king is at variance? "If thou doest service for the King, thy Lord, what is there that the King will not do for thee? But if thou for any cause wishest to do evil, or if thou even settest words of evil in thy heart, then wilt thou die, together with all thy family, by the axe of the King. Therefore, do service for the King, thy Lord, and thou shalt be saved alive; for know thou that the King desireth not that the whole land of



Canaan should be in turmoil." Surely it is pathetic to listen to the poor, gentle, simple-minded soul, who imagined that a hardened intriguer like Aziru would care one straw for his futile remonstrances. The lion (rather, perhaps, the jackal) has his prey in his teeth, and the shepherd remarks in a pained voice—"If you eat it, I shall really be very angry!"

Even after this unparalleled demonstration of firm-mindedness on the part of Akhenaten, the letter granted to the traitor the year's grace which he had requested before his appearance at the Egyptian court. This, of course, meant that he had ample leisure to go on with his work of undermining Egyptian influence in Syria, and time to consolidate his position, in view of the approaching visit to Akhetaten, by the judicious oiling of the palms of Dudu and his like-minded friends. Finally, when he did go to court, he had made himself so secure that he had no need of any fear as to the result. Dr. H. R. Hall has summed up the result with what appears substantial accuracy. "He went as a great vassal prince, slayer of the King's enemies, and defender of the empire against the Northern barbarians. The accusing voices of Akizzi of Katna, of Ribadda of Byblos, and of Abimilki of Tyre were now silent, and the Egyptian court was only too glad to compromise, and accept the accomplished fact with as little loss of dignity as possible. Aziru probably acknowledged Egyptian suzerainty, and returned to Syria as the ruler of a practically independent state."

Not for long, however. Poetic justice requires that when the wicked magician who has sold his soul to the Devil has succeeded to the height of his desire, his Master should duly appear in the very moment of triumph, and hale the wretch away to the Pit. Shubbiluliuma of Hatti had, so to speak, been Aziru's Devil for many a long day. It had been the shadow of his might that, stretching across all the north, had enabled the Amorite wizard to work his spells undetected, and bewilder men's eyes. Now the work was done. Egypt's power in Syria had passed into Aziru's hands, and the crafty Amorite doubtless imagined that he could now enjoy the fruits of his long labours. Shubbilu-

liuma thought otherwise. Aziru has been a very convenient catspaw to pull the chestnuts out of the fire; but, if he dreamed that he was going to be allowed to eat them, it was time to undeceive him. Shubbiluliuma reserved the feast for himself. Aziru had shown himself a cunning enough intriguer; but he was a mere child in the hands of the old schemer at Boghaz-keui. The chestnuts safely extracted, Shubbiluliuma took prompt measures to ensure the right disposal of them. Aziru's acknowledgment of Egyptian suzerainty gave him a colourable excuse for interference. The Hittite army marched into North Syria, and Aziru was obliged to stave off invasion by prompt submission and the payment of a heavy tribute. Ribaddi himself could not have wished for a more satisfactory judgment on his old enemy than to see him thus hoist with his own petard.

Egypt, however, could not be expected to view with satisfaction a result which gave her, instead of a nominal vassal, an open enemy, as Hatti now was. The problem of reasserting Egyptian supremacy in the Asiatic provinces had steadily grown more and more difficult as Akhenaten declined to face the responsibilities which it entailed; now, with the emergence of Hatti as the real hostile power, it had become impossible, save at the cost of a great war. Whether or not Akhenaten refused on principle to face such a solution, and decided rather to lose his provinces than to violate his religious beliefs, we cannot say. It may have been so, and this is the explanation of his inaction which is most honourable, or perhaps, rather, least dishonourable, to him; but it may have been simply that he lacked the energy to lift the Hittite gauntlet, and preferred to allow things to go on drifting, as they had done for so long. Whichever may be the true explanation, the result was the same. The final blow to any hope of recovering the lost provinces for Egypt was given by the Hittite absorption of Mitanni. Tushratta, whose seat on the Mitannian throne had for long been more than insecure, now went the way of more than one of his predecessors, and was removed by assassination. We shall hear no more gentle requests for gold from him, nor any more complaints about

wooden images overlaid with gold. The murderer, who was his own son Artatama, did not claim the throne for himself, but set up his son Shutarna as king. Shubbiliuma, however, had other designs, and when we hear that Shutarna and his brother Mattiuaza have quarrelled, and that Mattiuaza has fled to the Hittite court for refuge, we may be sure that the old Hittite schemer had a hand in fomenting the quarrel, and meant it to turn to his own advantage. So it proved. Mattiuaza was welcomed, and we are not surprised to be told that this interesting refugee has won the heart of the daughter of the King of Hatti, which was evidently amenable to paternal directions and interests. The next step was a marriage, in which the interests of the Hittite princess were safeguarded, with amusing care, against the danger that Mattiuaza's wandering affections might relegate her at any time to the position of secondary wife.

This accomplished, the next step was that Shubbiliuma should march into Mitanni with his army, and restore to the bereaved country its lawful king, Mattiuaza, who might be trusted to be just as much or as little of a king as his father-in-law allowed him to be. The old alliance between Mitanni and Egypt thus definitely came to an end, and henceforward the weight of Mitanni lay in the Hittite scale, not in the Egyptian. Such a redistribution of the forces meant that Egypt might now look upon her northern provinces as gone for good, and so it proved in the end, for not even the brave and persistent efforts of Seti I. and Ramses II. ever succeeded in regaining for their country more than a fraction of the Syrian territory which had been lost to the Hittites in the time of Akhenaten.

The story of the northern troubles, as they are seen through the letters of Ribaddi, has been so fully told that there is no need to tell them over again as they may be seen in those of Abimilki of Tyre. It is practically the same tale at Tyre as it was at Byblos, with the difference that Abimilki, loyal enough up to a point, is by no means such an interesting character as Ribaddi. He is Ribaddi diluted, so to speak; and though there is no certainty on the point,

appearances suggest that in the end the strain to which his loyalty was subjected proved too much for it, and he went over to the anti-Egyptian party.

In the southern section of the Asiatic provinces, the same game as had succeeded so well in the north was being played at the same time by another set of conspirators. Chief among the Egyptophobes are Labaya and his sons, with Tagi and his son-in-law Milkili, who take in the south the place occupied in the north by Abdashirta and his sons. The area on which they work embraces Central and Southern Palestine; and just as in the north Abdashirta and Aziru relied upon the backing of the Hittites and the Sa-Gaz, so in the south the plotters rely upon the support of the Habiru. The wandering tribes who are characterised by this name are held by many scholars to be the Hebrew tribes entering upon the conquest of the Promised Land, and using the bias against Egypt for the furtherance of their own ends. On this point, opinion as yet is still hopelessly divided, and while it has to be admitted that the older view of the date of the Exodus and the Conquest of Canaan presents many difficulties in view of modern discoveries, such as that of the Israel stele of Merenptah, the view of an Exodus under Amenhotep II. and a conquest under Akhenaten offers difficulties not less awkward in respect of subsequent Egyptian authority over Palestine—difficulties which have never been faced by the supporters of this view.

One thing must be said with regard to the identification of the Habiru with the Hebrew tribes under Joshua, an identification otherwise so tempting—that if the Hebrews are the Habiru, and the letters of the loyal Egyptian residents are to be accepted as presenting a true picture of the events of the time, then it is impossible to regard the Biblical account of the conquest of Canaan as anything more than a romance, and a romance which can scarcely be even said to be based upon fact. There are not any two facts in the two stories which agree with one another. The Hebrew narrative has never heard of any complicity with the Canaanites for the purpose of wresting the land from the Egyptian party; it has never heard of an Egyptian

party. It has never heard of Labaya and his sons, or of Tagi and his son-in-law, any more than the Amarna letters have heard of Joshua or Caleb. Dr. Macalister's summary of the position as regards an Amarna date for the conquest remains unimpeachable at the present moment. "If we choose the Amarna period as being the time of the Exodus, the details will be found quite irreconcilable, although the broad outlines are not dissimilar." It should be borne in mind that any positive statement on the matter may safely, in the meantime, be regarded as going beyond the evidence, and that new light on the subject can only come from fresh discovery, not from even the most elaborate re-threshing of the old straw. Only one fact may be accepted as becoming rapidly more and more certain—namely that the Hebrew narrative represents only a single incident in a process which went on for a very considerable period of time. "It is now quite clear", writes Dr. Macalister, "that the course of the Hebrew colonisation of Palestine must have been a much more gradual and elaborate process". This, of course, is not to say that the narrative of the conquest, as found in Scripture, does not give a true statement of the facts—so far as they were known to its authors; but simply that there were a great many more facts in the complete story than have been recorded in a narrative which recounts only the incidents of a single aspect of the conquest.

The protagonist in the southern struggle on the Egyptian side is Abdi-khiba of Jerusalem, who is careful to inform us more than once that he holds his position by special appointment of the Pharaoh. "Verily, neither my father nor my mother set me in this place. The mighty hand of the King hath installed me in the house of my fathers." Many a time, in all likelihood, as the miserable strife dragged on to the inevitable disaster, poor Abdi-khiba must have wished that the mighty hand of the King had set him somewhere else. The good man soon finds that he is fighting, not only against his local enemies, but also against that same invisible but all persuasive influence of treachery at the royal court which had defeated all Ribaddi's efforts. His hope, like that of Ribaddi, lay in the

powerful Yankhamu, viceroy of the Delta; and when two residents, at opposite ends of Palestine, and totally unconnected with each other, agree that Yankhamu was the only man who could save the situation, we may probably conclude that they were right, and that the viceroy was one of the few honest men whom Akhenaten had managed to get about him. But apparently Yankhamu was not *persona grata* with Dudu and his likes at Akhetaten, and the malign influence of the traitors was sufficient to prevent the king from granting this loyal servant a free hand.

Ere long Abdi-khiba finds, as Ribaddi had found, that to tell the truth at Akhetaten was the sure short-cut to disfavour. "By the life of the King, my Lord, because I spoke thus to the officer of the King, my Lord, 'Why dost thou love the Habiru and hate the Regents'? therefore I am slandered before the King, my Lord. Because I say, 'The lands of the King, my Lord, are being lost', therefore am I slandered before the King, my Lord." As was to be expected when the home authorities would not listen to the loyal men on the spot, things went swiftly from bad to worse. Soon we learn that even one of the cities in Abdi-khiba's own territory of Jerusalem, Beth-Ninurta by name (note the appearance of the name of the Mesopotamian god as a place-name) has gone over to the winning side; and as a crowning misfortune, even Yankhamu blundered, and when support was sent to Abdi-khiba, diverted it to his own purposes. "Let the King, my Lord, know this; when the King, my Lord, sent a garrison, Yankhamu took it all." In spite of this mistake, however, the viceroy still remains Abdi-khiba's one star in the darkness, and one of the last appeals which the despairing governor makes is: "The whole land of the King is going to ruin; send Yankhamu, to care for the King's land."

Like a warning bell, there sounds mournfully through Abdi-khiba's whole correspondence the sombre refrain, "The whole land of the King, my Lord, is going to ruin". Sometimes a qualification is added: "If no troops come this year, all the lands of the King, my Lord, will be lost." But the Egyptian court was like the deaf adder which will not listen to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so

wisely; and indeed, there was not much charm about poor Abdi-khiba's piteous appeals, though there was plenty of wisdom. The hard-pressed governor evidently knew perfectly well how small a chance his bad news had of being listened to at court, and, having a personal acquaintance with the cuneiform scribe who had to decipher the correspondence of the Egyptian Colonial Office, he adds, every now and again, a postscript addressed to this individual, urging on him the necessity of pressing the business upon the King's notice. "To the scribe of the King, my Lord, thus speaks thy servant, Abdi-khiba: 'Bring clearly before the King, my Lord, these words, All the lands of the King, my Lord, are going to ruin'."

Abdi-khiba was so far better off than his fellow-victim Ribaddi, that, as Jerusalem was nearer to Egypt than Byblos, he had more chance of being able to find a city of refuge there, should the worst come to the worst. Before very long we find him contemplating the necessity of such a step. "If there are no troops this year, let the King send an officer to fetch me and my brothers, that we may die with my Lord, the King." So far as we can judge, this last resort was needed. No doubt Abdi-khiba's friend, the cuneiform scribe, knew too well on which side his bread was buttered to press the matter upon the attention of Akhenaten with the insistence which the governor of Jerusalem craved. Anyhow, nothing was done to any purpose, and we may suppose that Abdi-khiba, if he had luck, was one of the refugees from Palestine who are referred to in the inscription from the pre-regal tomb of Horemheb. "Their countries are starving, they live like goats of the mountains, their children . . . saying, 'A few of the Asiatics, who know not how they should live, have come begging a home in the domain of Pharaoh, after the manner of your father's fathers from the beginning'." We may hope that Abdi-khiba got his home in Egypt; but it was a poor reward for faithful service to be reduced to beg for it from a subordinate official.

Thus both north and south went rapidly to ruin during the latter days of Akhenaten's reign, and, one has to confess it, almost entirely because of the king's wilful inaction.

What was at the bottom of such supineness, in face of the constant and urgent appeals of his local governors? Was it pacifism, pure and simple, born out of due time, and determined to maintain its principle of the abnegation of force, even at the cost of the loss of an empire? Or was it merely that he was too much absorbed in his "heavenly vision" to care for the hard realities of earth? We do not know, and in all probability we never shall. One thing is certain—that it was not from any rooted objection to an oppressive rule that Syria and Palestine passed out of the control of Egypt. The evidence is all in the other direction, and suggests that the loyal cities would have been more than glad to remain under Egyptian control, if their overlord had shown the slightest intention of maintaining his authority. Such a letter as that which was written to the King from his city of Irkata, in face of the discouragement that had been given by an indiscreet Egyptian official, shows that Syrian loyalty was a very real thing, and might have been used by a prudent Pharaoh with triumphant success against the foes of his empire. "This letter is a letter of the town of Irkata. To the King, our Lord, thus speaks Irkata and its citizens; At the feet of the King, our Lord, seven times and seven times we fall! To our Lord, the Sun, thus speaks Irkata: Let the heart of the King, our Lord, know that we guard Irkata for him. When the King, our Lord, sent Turbikha unto us, he spake on this wise to us, 'The King hates Irkata!' . . . May the King, our Lord, hearken to the word of his true servants, and may he give a reward to his servants, so that our enemies may behold it, and eat dirt. Let not the breath of the King depart from us! The town-gates have we barred until the breath of the King shall come to us. Mighty is the enmity against us! Mighty indeed!" When a town which had just received such a slap in the face in return for its faithfulness could still make such demonstration of its loyalty, and be

True as the dial to the sun,
Although it be not shined upon,

one realises that there cannot have been very much wrong with the spirit in which Egypt had administered her Asiatic provinces.

Even more touching is the appeal which came from the city of Tunip, once so famous in the long wars of Thothmes III. "People of Tunip to the King. Who could formerly have plundered Tunip without being plundered by Manakhbiria (Menkheperra—Thothmes III.)? The gods of Egypt dwell in Tunip. But now we belong no more to Egypt. For twenty years we have sent messengers, but they remain with the King . . . Aziru will treat Tunip as he has treated Niy; and if we mourn, the King will also have to mourn. And when Aziru enters Simyra he will do to us as he pleases, and the King will have to lament. And now Tunip, your city, weeps, and her tears are running, and there is no help for us. For twenty years we have been sending to our Lord, the King, the King of Egypt; but there has not come to us a word from our Lord, not one." People who wrote in such a strain to their suzerain, even after twenty years of neglect, were not only worth keeping, but were in themselves a testimony to the mild and kindly rule, coupled with ceaseless watchfulness, by means of which the Egyptian empire had been built up and maintained.

And now it was all going to pieces, not because Egypt was unable to hold it longer, if she had chosen, but because her master was a man who counted such things as subject provinces as the small dust of the balance compared with the maintenance of the principles of the religion which for seventeen years he had been trying to force upon a somewhat indifferent people. It is apparent, all through the struggle between Akhenaten and the Amenite priesthood, that the attitude of the vast majority of the people to the religious controversy was one of almost complete detachment. That Amenism, with its overgrown estates, its overflowing treasury, and its gorgeous and aristocratic ritual, had next to no hold upon the hearts of the common people is as plain as day from the fact that no attempt was made, so far as appears, to strike a blow for the once all-powerful god. The priests were angry and sullen enough; but the people, to whom Amen had never been anything more than a far-off god at the splendour of whose processions they had gaped from outside the temple

gates, let him go with absolute indifference. They took as little interest, apparently, in the King's new god and creed, as they had done in the dethroned divinity. Atenism remained to the end what it had been from the beginning—the creed of the King and Queen, held with fanatical devotion, the creed of the court, held with conviction so long as devotion to it produced honours and estates to the prudent devotee, but not the creed of the nation. They waited to see if it would justify itself by its fruits. If it resulted in prosperity for Egypt, well and good; if not, then they would see it go in its turn with the same indifference with which they had watched the disappearance of Amenism.

Now its fruits were being gathered—loss of prestige, loss of territory, a constant stream of dreary reports from the north, each telling of some new city which had gone over to the enemy or had been captured, sacked and burned—and, in all probability, if not a total disappearance of the tribute from Syria, at least a progressive drying-up of the stream which had flowed so steadily into the treasury for so long. The collapse in the northern provinces was practically total; that in the southern portion of the Asiatic empire, though probably not so complete, was yet disastrous and shameful. It must have become impossible to keep back for long from the general public the news of disaster so far-reaching and so discreditable. Judgment on Akhenaten's new faith had apparently been given in a court from which there was no appeal; it stood condemned by its fruits. One can understand how the dispossessed priests of Amen, with all the bitterness of the long years of repression in their hearts, saw to it that every evil report from Syria had all its worst points emphasised and driven home, and how each fresh story of disaster was used as another proof that the old gods were angry with the land which had permitted a criminal madman to dishonour their holy traditions. The brief dream of a world of universal peace and love which Akhenaten had been dreaming in the City of the Horizon was over, and the king awakened to realities in a world where there seemed no place for him or his ideals.

The astonishing thing is that, so far as appears, there

was no attempt at revolution and the substitution of a normal Pharaoh for the failure whom the priests now openly called "that criminal of Akhetaten". If there were ever anything in the theory of Nefertiti's defection, now would have been the time for her to have put herself at the head of the disaffected elements in the nation, and to have asserted her claim to the throne, which was as good as that of her husband. There is, of course, no sign of any movement of such a kind. Quite possibly Nefertiti was already in her grave; certainly there is no trace of her presence at Thebes, where she was bound to be, if she meant to head the popular party against her husband. That possibility we may dismiss; but there remains the fact of Akhenaten's having, to all appearance, gone down to his grave in peace, or at least in such peace as was possible to a man who had witnessed the disastrous failure of all the hopes and plans which were dearer to him than his own life. It is difficult to believe that the Egyptian of 1360 B.C. was a more patient and submissive mortal than his predecessors and successors have often shown themselves to be under less provocation. The inference seems plain—that Akhenaten had a much firmer hand in domestic affairs than in foreign matters, and was better served at home than abroad.

All the same, he must have known, with ever-growing certainty and bitterness, that his people were thoroughly alienated from him and would hail his death with joy. Bitterest of all the elements in his disillusionment must have been the fact that he must have known with remorseless clearness that the chief source of the failure of his reign had been that faith which was his dearest treasure. Now, he cannot have failed to see that so soon as he was gone all his work would be undone, and the hated Amenism once more installed in all its pride and privilege; for he must have known pretty well by this time how much and how little confidence he could put in all the protestations of men like Dudu and Ay.

The blackest feature in his outlook was the fact that he had no son to succeed him. With a male heir in the direct line, the catastrophe of the new faith might conceivably have been staved off, and the scarce-rooted plant been

given a chance to grow. This had been denied him, and he had to do the best he could with a makeshift. Semenkhar, who had been married for some time to his eldest daughter, Merit-aten, and who may have had royal blood in his veins, was associated with him on the throne, according to the ancient custom used so often when a Pharaoh wished to make the succession secure; and, if he failed or died, there was a second line of defence in the person of Tutankhaten, who was married to Ankhsenpaaten. He was a mere child, it is true; but he was possibly a son of Amenhotep III., in which case he had a double claim to the crown. But these were only expedients, which might have succeeded in the case of a Pharaoh towards whom the general body of the nation was well-disposed, but which had only the smallest chance of success in view of the universal unpopularity and disaffection amidst which the king was drawing towards the grave. There can be little doubt of Akhenaten's only too clear knowledge that in himself the great line of the XVIIIth Dynasty was actually, though not nominally, closing.

There is no more tragic figure in ancient history than that of the young king, no more than in the prime of his manhood, on any computation, so far as years go, as he stood looking with clear, hopeless eyes into a future in which he could see nothing but two bitter certainties—the one, his own early tomb—the other, the collapse of all he had laboured and given his life for. Few men have ever begun life amid circumstances so brilliant or so full of promise; few have been so whole-hearted in the pursuit of an ideal which, if realised, would have meant a changed and better world; few have ended their days so drearily. Even his bitterest critic, and he has many of them, could scarcely maintain that this man was treated according to his deserts, or could deny him the meed of sympathy in the bleak destiny with which humanity rewarded him who first tried to teach the world of a God who is one, who is over all, and who loves all.

At the very utmost, he cannot have been more than forty, and in all probability he was still under thirty. But the stock which had lasted so long, and had produced so

much of the ability and strength that made Egypt glorious, had been giving indications for several reigns in succession that it was beginning to fail at last. The delicacy and early death of Thothmes IV., the premature old age of Amenhotep III., and the evidence of his own portraits and the bones found in his coffin, all point in the same direction. All his life he had borne the burden of disease, and along with it a load which might have overtaxed the strongest. Seventeen years of a strain such as few men have known brought him to the end of his tether; and, probably somewhere about 1358 B.C., he laid down a task which had become impossible. He has been extravagantly praised as the most original of religious thinkers, and extravagantly blamed as the narrowest and most futile of doctrinaires. The truth probably lies mid-way between the two extremes. Later, we shall have to examine the facts as to the faith which he taught, and shall perhaps find that in spite of its beauty and charm it was not so profoundly original as it has been sometimes considered. But we shall probably hold also that the mere fact of his religion and his insistence on it having proved a fruitful source of disaster to his country is not a matter which ought to influence our estimate of him as a religious thinker and reformer. Christianity also has involved the world in much trouble and strife; we do not lay that to the blame of its Founder. Neither should Akhenaten's failure as a ruler—a failure due to the assertion of principles for which the world was not ready—be allowed to obscure the fact that he made a real contribution, even if it be not so great as has been claimed for it, towards the approach of mankind to God, and towards the solution of the problem of human relationships. At the very least he was what he has been called by a famous scholar, "the most remarkable figure in earlier Oriental history".

His tomb had already been prepared for him, according to his vow, in the narrow valley which leads up into the eastern hills almost opposite to his palace and the great temple of his beloved City of the Horizon. His second daughter, Maktaten had already been laid to rest in a side-chamber of the tomb, and the sculptures of the room still

show the mourning of the royal family for the girl who, if they had known it, had been taken away from the evil to come. Now, for a little while, he joined her again. But it was written of him that even this last of his dreams was to fade, as all the others had faded. Ere long, his beautiful dream-city passed away and fell into dishonoured ruin; and when his successors returned, under pressure of circumstances, to the Thebes which he hated, they laid his body beside that of his mother in the Valley of the Kings, far from Akhetaten and all that he had cherished; while even in his borrowed tomb he was not allowed to rest in peace. If a man's success in life is to be judged by the attainment or non-attainment of his material wishes, there have been few more utter failures than Akhenaten. Fortunately there are other and more worthy standards.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE REACTION AND THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

THE weakness of Atenism from the beginning was that it was simply and solely a court religion, in which there circulated among the members and officials of the court circle and the government an esoteric doctrine which made no particular appeal to the mass of the people, and which, so far as we are aware, was never seriously offered to them by any organised attempt at propaganda, further than that involved in the proscription of Amenism, and the installation of the Aten in the national worship. It remained the treasured possession of a few sincerely convinced souls, and the lever by which a good many more raised themselves to positions of honour and profit in the realm; but it never occupied a position of wide dominion over the rank and file of the populace. Therefore, being bound up with Akhenaten, with Akhenaten it fell. Its success, such as it had been, was simply a matter of the dominant will of one man; and when that man was removed, and with him the political influence which had given Atenism its power, the balance swayed at once to the opposite side, and the new faith was overthrown, never to rise again—at least as an organised type of religion, though we may see that its influence still continued to be operative indirectly, and to exercise quite distinctly its sway over Egyptian habits of thought on religious matters.

Externally, the collapse was almost instantaneous, and as complete as it was rapid. It was formerly held that Semenkhara, the elder son-in-law of Akhenaten, though the length of his reign was so short as to suggest his deposition or assassination, at least succeeded for a short time in

maintaining himself at Akhetaten, and that the return of the court to Thebes, and the submission of the royal house to the reaction in favour of Amenism only took place under his successor, Tutankhaten or Tutankhamen. Now it has become apparent that the length of Semenkharas reign has been somewhat underestimated, and also that the duration of Atenism's resistance to the reaction has been overestimated. The graffito in the tomb of Pere, quoted in a preceding chapter, and mentioning "the scribe of the divine offerings of Amen in the house of 'Ankhkheperura (Semenkhara) in Thebes", is conclusive as to the fact that Semenkharas had, at the very least, been forced to instal the rites of Amen in the royal palace, and had also been constrained to remove the royal residence, whether completely or partially, from Akhetaten to Thebes.

Once begun, the reaction of course, as is the wont of such things, proceeded with ever-increasing momentum and speed. Semenkharas disappears after a reign which we now know to have gone into its third year, though part of this period must be included in the time of his association with Akhenaten; and with him vanishes his queen Meritaten. The succession to what was in the meantime only a puppet sovereignty, whose holder moved and acted as the priesthood of Amen pulled the strings, fell to the boy to whom fate has decreed the strange destiny that he, who in life was no better than a "transient and embarrassed phantom", so far as any real power was concerned, should, by the romantic chance of excavation, be the heir of a fame more world-wide than that of the greatest of the Pharaohs.

Tutankhaten, who was now installed for a few years on the tottering throne of the XVIIIth Dynasty, was, as we have seen, a noble of the court at Tell el-Amarna, and was married to Ankhsenpaaten, the third daughter of Akhenaten. The examination of his mummy shows him to have been not more than eighteen years old at his death, and, as his reign lasted certainly for more than six years, and probably for nine, it follows that at his accession he was at the utmost only twelve years old, and was, in all probability only nine. On one of the Gebel Barkal lions in the British Museum (originally the work of Amenhotep III.) he



ENTRANCE TO TUTANKHAMEN'S TOMB, VALLEY OF THE KINGS

speaks of "his father Amenhotep III."; but the facts above stated as to his age render a literal interpretation of the phrase impossible. It must mean simply (as such a phrase continually does) that he reckoned Amenhotep III. as his ancestor, and therefore that he was of royal descent. His wife Ankhsenpaaten was probably of much about the same age as himself, and the position of these two children, not yet in their teens, thrust into a position of nominal power, yet helpless in the hands of a priesthood which hated them as representatives of the "criminal of Akhetaten", whose infatuation had cost them and Egypt so dear, can scarcely fail to excite our pity and sympathy. The best they could hope for was that submission to the yoke of all that they had been taught to hate, and apostacy from all that they had loved, might save their lives for a little while—until their enemies felt that it was safe to do without them.

Already Akhetaten was deserted by the court, and the substitution of Amenism for its enemy had begun. That the process was not yet complete, however, is evidenced by the inscriptions on the golden throne which was discovered along with the other treasures of the tomb of Tutankhamen. The cartouche of the Pharaoh appears in several places among the ornamentation of this splendid piece of craftsmanship; but the royal name is not uniformly rendered. In those cases where it appears in the glazes or inlay work, the older form Tutankhaten is retained; in those which occur in the gold-work, it is altered to Tutankhamen. The technical reason for the inconsistency is sufficiently plain. It was comparatively an easy thing to alter the cartouche in the gold-work, but by no means so simple a matter to change it in the inlay, and consequently the thrifty priests of Amen contented themselves with insisting on the alteration being made in the gold, and tolerated the continuance of the hated symbols in the inlay work rather than scrap such a precious piece of furniture. The curious thing is that while Amenism had already triumphed so far, even in the preceding reign, Atenism should yet have retained sufficient power to secure the insertion of its god's name in the royal cartouche.

Such as it was, that success was its last. Reaction was now in full flood, and the two children on the throne were borne on its tide with no more volition than that of a drifting straw. Already Akhetaten was more or less deserted. The removal of the court was the removal of the whole reason for the city's existence. The glaze-works and other industries of the place naturally followed in the track of the people whose demand for their products had brought them there. Thus deprived of its life-blood, the city speedily languished and decayed; till, probably within a single generation, Akhenaten's dream-city of holiness was left to the bats and the owls and the swift disintegration that befalls mud-brick structures when neglected. At intervals the deserted walls, fast being wrapped in their mantle of sand, might echo the activity of the gangs of labourers who were sent in by later Pharaohs to carry off what was worth transport from the palaces and temples and the greater mansions, first erasing from the blocks the hated name of the heretic king and his abhorred god. Then even that hateful activity ceased, and silence descended upon the crumbling walls, only to be broken, three thousand years later, by the sound of the spades and picks of the modern expeditions which have unearthed for us the fragments of the strange story of frustrated idealism which has been slowly pieced together again during the last half-century.

The alteration of the names of the young Pharaoh and his wife was followed by the complete restoration of Amen to all his dignities and privileges, and the absolute proscription of Atenism. The ill example which Akhenaten had himself unfortunately set by his persecution of the name of Amen was now followed with diligence by his triumphant enemies. All through the land the name of the Aten and his worship were obliterated and proscribed; while the ancient gods were everywhere restored to their honours and estates. Nominally this work was done by Tutankhamen; but one can judge how much or how little a child had to do with the destruction of the faith in which he had been brought up and the elevation of that which he had been taught to despise and hate. All the same, his name was used as the authority for the restoration which

made Amen more powerful than ever throughout the land. "For when His Majesty was crowned as King", says Tutankhamen's great stele, found by Legrain at Karnak in 1905, "the temples of the gods were desolated from Elephantine as far as the marshes of the Delta. . . . Their holy places were forsaken, and had become desolate tracts . . . their sanctuaries were like that which has never been, and their houses were trodden roads. The land was in an evil pass, and as for the gods, they had forsaken the land. If people were sent to Syria, to extend the borders of Egypt, they prospered not at all; if men prayed to a god for succour, he came not . . . if men besought a goddess likewise, she came not at all. Their hearts were deaf in their bodies, and they diminished what was done. Now after days had passed by these things, His Majesty appeared upon the throne of his father, he ruled the regions of Horus. . . . His Majesty was making the plans of this land, and the needs of the two regions were before His Majesty, as he took counsel with his own heart, seeking every excellent matter, and searching for profitable things for his Father Amen, fashioning his august emanation out of pure gold, and giving to him more than was done before."

How much of all this grandiloquent panegyric of Tutankhamen actually corresponds to the facts, so far as they concern the boy-king, and to what extent a child of twelve was really taking counsel with his own heart in these matters, is another story. The voice was the voice of the Pharaoh; but the hands were the hands of the priests of Amen. At all events there was no doubt of the truth of the statement, so far as it related to the increase of power and wealth which the reaction brought to the Theban god. The priests had conquered at last; and after their kind they exploited their victory to the uttermost, and had not the sense to see that in the pride of their momentary triumph they were preparing ruin for themselves, their god, and their country all together. The brief release from their yoke had ended in the binding of it more heavily than ever upon the necks of the people; and, from now to the end, triumphant Amenism was the vampire which sucked out of the state, and out of the thought and spirit of the people, all

their vitality, until at last the empty husk of the once-great Egyptian nation collapsed before the impact of more living races. Doubtless the Amenists imagined that in their victory they had saved their land; in point of fact it was the triumph of Amen which irrevocably sealed its doom.

But the priests were far from seeing that, or understanding how deadly was to prove the strangle-hold which they had now got upon the vitality of the nation. The hymns of this time reflect the savage exultation of small-minded men, who could see nothing but the immediate personal advantage to themselves and their god in the tragedy of Akhenaten. "The enemy of Ra is burnt to ashes", says a hymn in a papyrus at Leyden, "and everything is given to Thebes: Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, heaven and earth, and the nether world, with banks, waters, and the mountains, what ocean produceth and the Nile. . . . Every land payeth her tribute as her subject, for she is the Eye of Ra whom none repelleth. . . . All that groweth upon the earth-god is hers, and all that the sun riseth upon belongeth to her in peace." It was precisely this undue exaltation of priest-ridden Thebes that proved in the end the destruction of Egypt.

Still more indecent in its vainglory is the savage hymn to Amen which is preserved on an ostrakon in the British Museum, and is little better than a furious howl of joy at the overthrow of Akhenaten and all that he stood for.

Thou findest him that trespasseth against thee . . .
 Woe to him that assaileth thee!
 Thy city abideth, but he that assailed thee is overthrown.
 Fie on him that assaileth thee in any land.

The sun of him that knew thee not hath set, O Amen.
 But he that knoweth thee, he shineth.
 The forecourt of him that assailed thee is in darkness,
 While the whole earth is in sunlight.
 Whoso putteth thee in his heart, O Amen, lo, his sun hath risen.

The practice which was now adopted, of never naming the dead Pharaoh, but always alluding to him as "that criminal of Akhetaten", had, of course, a definitely malignant purpose. The destruction of a man's name was

supposed to carry with it the final annihilation of the bearer of the name in the underworld, and the priestly prohibition of the use of Akhenaten's name was meant, as it became gradually more effective throughout the land, to wither his being in the life beyond the tomb. To this already sufficiently horrible malignity was added an act of desecration perpetrated on the body of the dead enemy. When the court returned from Akhetaten to Thebes, the friends of the Pharaoh, unwilling that his remains should be left behind in the desolate city, exposed to all the risks of robbery and insult, resolved on his re-burial in the Valley of the Kings. The body, wrapped in flexible sheets of pure gold, and encased in a magnificent coffin which bore the name of its tenant inlaid in semi-precious stones and coloured glazes, was removed from Akhetaten and brought to Thebes, where it was buried, as we have seen, in the tomb of Queen Tiy in the Valley of the Kings. The re-burial was carried out, no doubt, with all the secrecy that was possible in such a matter, for it is difficult to suppose, in view of what followed, that the priests of Amen would have tolerated the intrusion of the heretic into the sacred valley had they known of the intention in time to frustrate it.

Entire secrecy is, however, one of the rarest things in the world, and especially so in the East. One of the many involved in the re-burial evidently played traitor, and the priests came to know of what had been done. They could no longer save Queen Tiy's tomb from pollution by the presence of the body of the dead criminal; but they could remove the body of the queen from the polluted sepulchre, and, at the same time, destroy what remained of Akhenaten's chances of immortality. The boy-Pharaoh and his girl-queen must have had their own thoughts about the outrage which followed; but they were powerless in the hands of men who knew no mercy. The tomb was opened once more, the body of Queen Tiy was removed to another resting-place, which has never been discovered, and her funerary furniture was removed along with her, saving only certain portions of her funeral canopy which were too cumbrous for ready transport. Then Akhenaten's

name was erased from his canopic jars, from his coffin, even from the thin gold bands which held in position the wrappings of his mummy, and the dead king was left in dishonour and loneliness in the desecrated tomb, his hopes of immortal life now, as his enemies believed, finally destroyed.

For three and a quarter millenniums the tomb kept its secret undisturbed, and it was only in 1907 that Mr. Ayrton, excavating in the Valley for Mr. T. M. Davis, disclosed this most interesting of all the royal tombs of Egypt, with its record of the priestly malignity that followed the dead even beyond death. The identification of the bones which lay in the beautiful coffin with Akhenaten has been questioned by Sethe on account of the apparent youth of the dead man; but the evidence for their identity is so strong that there is, at least, a very strong presumption in favour of their actually being those of Akhenaten. An element of doubt still remains, and it is difficult to see that it can be resolved by any argument short of the discovery of new facts; but the balance of probability seems to incline towards the view that the remains are really those of the heretic king.

Apart from this incident, which was certainly no work of Tutankhamen, but merely the culminating exhibition of the spite which marked the reaction, the new reign is almost a blank to us. It lasted for more than six years, and probably for not more than nine. Mere children as they were at their accession, we cannot believe that Tutankhamen and Ankhseamen were more than puppets in the hands of the leaders of the reactionary movement, who used the royal titles to give sanction to the acts by means of which they undid all the work of Akhenaten. Some attempt was made to recover a part of the lost Asiatic empire, and Tutankhamen must have accompanied the army as nominal commander. The real general was doubtless Horemheb, the capable official who was soon going to take into his strong hands the heavy task of the regeneration of a ruined Egypt. In his pre-regal tomb Horemheb states that he was "King's follower on his expeditions in the south and north country. . . . King's messenger at the head

of his army, to the south and north country. . . . Companion of the feet of his lord upon the battlefield on that day of slaying the Asiatics". The conquests of Tutankhamen, however, must have been on a very limited scale, judging by the state in which Seti I. and Ramses II. found Palestine even after the more thorough work of Horemheb as king. They sufficed, however, to give the Pharaoh some shadow of a claim to authority over the southern part of the Asiatic empire of his fathers, and to induce some of the Asiatic tribes to send in gifts which could be listed as tribute, so as to save the face of the reactionary leaders, and suggest to the nation that the ancient glories were being restored.

Such as they were, the most was made of the conquests. In the tomb of Huy, who was viceroy of Ethiopia under Tutankhamen, we have the standard picture of the presentation of tribute from the four quarters of the world. The inscription over the Asiatics runs thus: "The chiefs of Retenu the Upper, who knew not Egypt since the days of the gods, are craving peace from His Majesty. They say: 'Give to us the breath which thou givest, O Lord! Tell us thy victories; there shall be no revolvers in thy time, but every land shall be in peace'." This, of course, is merely the common form of such Egyptian inscriptions, and must bear a very heavy deduction before it is accepted as corresponding to any fact whatsoever. The victories of the little boy who sat on the throne of the Pharaohs would, one imagines, be very easily told. Nor is much authority to be attached to the description of the actual tribute. "Bringing in all the tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands, the presents of Retenu the wretched; by the king's messenger to every country, the King's Son of Kush, Governor of the Southern Countries, Amenhotep (brother of Huy), triumphant. Vessels of all the choicest of the best of their countries, in silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, every costly stone. All the chiefs of the north countries they say: 'How great is thy fame, O good God! How mighty thy strength! There is none living in ignorance of thee'." All this grandiloquence is gravely suspect, and all the more so because the tribute of the north is being offered to the

king by the governor of the south. What was he doing in that galley? If the north was so submissive as all that, why had it not its own official to present its contribution to the imperial revenue? All the same the fact that such a claim could be made, however slender may have been its basis in reality, shows that Egypt was beginning to pluck up heart again, and look with the eye of a prospective owner on the provinces which she had so lately lost.

It is one of the curious ironies of history that a Pharaoh whose reign is in itself of almost entire insignificance, and whose actual relics in Egypt are almost negligible, should yet have provided the world with the most complete and magnificent example yet known of the splendour which surrounded a king of Egypt during his life, and was lavished upon him after his death to secure his comfort and safety in the underworld. That it should be so is due, of course, simply to the fact that Tutankhamen alone, of all the Pharaohs whose place of interment has yet been found, has had the good fortune to escape, almost completely, from the attentions of the expert tomb-robbers of ancient Egypt, who yielded nothing, either in skill or daring, to their modern descendants, and who rifled every other known royal tomb in Egypt—probably within a few years, at most within a century or two, of the time when its owner was laid to rest amidst his treasures. The splendour of Tutankhamen's equipment makes us wonder somewhat ruefully as to what stores of beauty and gorgeousness may have been lost to the world when the tomb of Amenhotep III., for instance, was looted, as we know it to have been, by five Theban rascals, somewhere about 1120 B.C. We have to be thankful that, while so much has perished, this amazing example of the richness and skill which could be commanded even by a tenth-rate Pharaoh of a decadent Egypt has been preserved to suggest to us yet greater glories.

With the premature death of Tutankhamen, the direct line of the great XVIIIth Dynasty came to a close, save for the unfortunate daughter of Akhenaten who had sat beside her young husband on a throne whose supporters were the deadliest enemies of her house and kin. The young king's

death changed for her a position which must always have been one of misery into one of acute danger. She had been tolerated, notwithstanding the fierce hatred with which her dead father and all that concerned him was regarded, because it was her royal descent which legitimised her husband's claim to the crown. Now that she was no longer needed for this purpose, it is obvious that there was "but a step between her and death". If we are justified in associating with her one of the most interesting items of cuneiform correspondence which recent discovery has revealed to us, the widowed queen, though but a girl in years, showed herself to be a woman of swift understanding, clear-sighted and prompt in action.

The tablet in question is a Hittite cuneiform one, and was found at the Hittite capital Hattushash, the modern Boghaz-Keui. It purports to be an account given by a Hittite king, who is probably Murshilish II., of certain communications which passed between his father Shubbiluliuma and a queen of Egypt, whom he calls Dakhamun. Dakhamun is not a name which is otherwise known among the names of Egyptian queens, and there are difficulties in the way of equating it with Ankhsenamen, as has been proposed; though it is hard to say that any kind of sea-change whatsoever might not be possible to a name in passing from Egyptian to a Hittite equivalent. Apart from the difficulty about the name, however, the whole situation described in the document is so exactly that of Tutankhamen's widow, that the identity of Ankhsenamen with the outspoken correspondent of Shubbiluliuma seems to be almost a moral certainty. While we must still be prepared, if necessary, to renounce even so tempting an identification, we may yet in the meantime accept the story as actually describing an attempt by the widowed queen to secure her position in view of the dangers which surrounded her. If the tablet does not refer to her, we know of no other Egyptian queen to whom it can conceivably refer.

The narrative of the document runs as follows: "Now when my father (Shubbiluliuma) was in the city of Carchemish, then Lupakki and Hadad-zalma into the land of

Amka (the plain of Antioch) he sent; so they went; the land of Amka they devastated; the spoil of oxen and sheep back to my father they brought. Afterwards the Egyptians of the overthrow of Amka heard: they were terrified. Then their ruler—namely Bib-khuru-riyas (Neb-kheperu-ra? If so, then Tutankhamen)—just at that moment died; now the queen of Egypt was Dakhamun . . . she sent an ambassador to my father; she said thus to him: ‘My husband is dead; I have no children; your sons are said to be grown up; if to me one of your sons you will give, and he will be my husband, he will be a help; send him accordingly, and thereafter I will make him my husband. I send bridal gifts.’ After my father had heard this he summoned certain Hittites. . . . To Egypt a secretary . . . he dispatched, enjoining him: ‘A true report do you bring back, why she has written this letter to me, and as to the son of their ruler, what has become of him; so to me a true report do you bring back’.

“When the secretary had returned from Egypt—it was after this that my father captured the city of Carchemish; he had besieged it for seven days, and on the eighth day he delivered battle one day, and then he stormed it on the eighth and ninth days . . . and thereafter captured the city. . . . An ambassador from the city of Egypt, Khanis (?Hanes, as in Isaiah xxx. 4), came to him from its ruler, and my father in return a secretary sent to the land of Egypt, who should thus address him as head of the mission: ‘The son of their lord—where is he? Me she has deceived; my son to the kingship the general of the army has not promoted.’ To my father the queen of Egypt thereupon thus wrote back: ‘What is this you say—“She has deceived me?” I, if I had a son, and if I my people and my country . . . to another country I would have written. But no one has had seed by me. And now you say to me this: “There is thy husband”; but he is dead; I have no son; so I have taken a servant . . . and to another country in this manner I have not written; to you, however, I have written; your sons are said to be grown up; so to me one of your sons give, and he as my husband in the land of Egypt shall be king.’ So my father was on his knees (?),

and then the lady soon fulfilled her words and selected one of the sons."

Here is manifestly one of the most extraordinary documents which have survived from the Amarna period, whether it refers to Ankhsenamen and her difficulties or not. In any case, it is a piece of genuine history, seen through Hittite eyes; and if the alliance of Egypt and Hatti which it contemplates had actually come to pass, with a Hittite prince on the throne of Egypt, the whole history of the ancient East might have been changed. It was certainly the supreme chance of Shubbiluliuma's life; and, whether the document refers to Ankhsenamen or not, the subsequent history of the relations between the two nations makes it plain that the crafty Hittite king, who was such a master of the art of grasping chances, or creating them, somehow failed to take the tide at the flood—a tide which would have borne him to the unquestioned supremacy of the ancient world.

The situation, if the tablet refers to Ankhsenamen, fits in with the narrative so aptly as almost to make one suspicious, for things do not usually fit quite so pat in real life. When her husband died, Ankhsenamen, standing, as she did, in imminent danger of death, had yet one opportunity which could not be denied her owing to the very circumstances which otherwise made her danger so acute. Seventy days, the period of embalmment, lay between the death of Tutankhamen and his public funeral. Religion and public opinion alike would dictate to her enemies that they must hold their hands until the dead Pharaoh was duly laid in the grave; but as soon as the public funeral rites had been performed the queen's danger would become extreme. Her salvation, if it were to be wrought at all, must be wrought within that seventy-day period.

Ankhsenamen can only have been a girl of seventeen or eighteen years at most when she had to face this critical situation; but she did so with courage and clear-sighted promptitude. Had the other party to her plan been as prompt and intelligent as she was, the chances are that she would have succeeded, and that we should have had a most interesting regrouping of the great powers of the

ancient east in consequence. But Shubbiluliuma, astute old intriguer though he was, muddled the whole business by his over-caution. It is perhaps the greatest disadvantage under which a habitual liar labours, that he can never believe that other people are actually speaking the truth; and Shubbiluliuma had deceived other people so often that he could not believe but that other people were always trying to deceive him. He had to send a trumpety secretary down to Egypt to peep and question and listen behind doors, in order to be assured that he was not being led into a trap. What he ought to have done, of course, was to have sent a Hittite prince at once, with a sufficient escort to ensure his immediate safety, and an army not far behind him. Instead, his secretary spent a week or two on his journey, perhaps another week on his enquiries, and more precious days on his return; and meanwhile poor Ankh-senamen's seventy days were steadily running out, and death was coming remorselessly nearer and nearer. In her second letter, it is not difficult to catch a tone of irritation, almost a tone of contempt, for the purblind old fumbler in the north, who, after all his painful scheming, was going to miss the greatest chance of his life because he had not the pluck or the clear sight that would have made him ready to stake everything on the throw.

Her second letter did apparently waken Shubbiluliuma up. What is meant by the phrase "my father was on his knees" is uncertain, and one suspects that the actual meaning of the original has not yet been reached at this point; but taking it literally, if ever a man had cause to be on his knees in penitence for having bungled the most splendid opportunity of a life rich in opportunities, it was the old Hittite king. Now at last he realised what the thing meant, and dispatched his son; but it was too late. Fortune does not wait on our delays, and Shubbiluliuma must have gone down to his grave a disappointed man, in spite of all his successes—not at all comforted by the thought that he had no one to thank for it but himself.

That may seem a small matter, for Shubbiluliuma never appears as so lovable a character that we should deplore his failure. Much more deplorable is the fact that his

mistake dragged down Ankhsenamen, and in all likelihood sealed her death-warrant. What became of the tardy Hittite bridegroom we do not know, though it is not beyond the limits of possibility that the rest of the story may turn up some day. He may have retreated on hearing that he was too late, or he may have been murdered in Egypt along with the brave Egyptian girl whom he could not save. Perhaps the most deplorable feature of the whole business was that henceforth Egypt and Hatti, who had for a moment almost seemed on the verge of a union of the crowns, had now to pay for Shubbiluliuma's foolish prudence with a century of desolating warfare.

Whatever weight we may feel inclined to attach to the Boghaz-Keui romance of the widowed queen, one thing is sure, that she disappears from view immediately on the death of her husband, and that no attempt seems to have been made to fill the throne with anyone who had any legitimate claim to be connected with the royal line of the XVIIIth Dynasty. We owe to "The Divine Father Ay", who now wears the Double Crown for a brief period, a considerable debt of gratitude, for it is in the fine tomb which he made for himself when he was an enthusiastic follower of Akhenaten at Tell el-Amarna that our only extant version of the longer hymn to the Aten was found; but, as a king, he is scarcely more than the shadowiest of shadows. We know that his wife Tiy was a considerable figure about the court of Amenhotep III. in the days when Akhenaten was an infant, being "great nurse, nourisher of the god, adorer of the king". It was probably her influence which raised her husband from the obscure priestly rank of "Divine Father" to the position which he afterwards held at el-Amarna as "fan-bearer on the right of the king, master of all the horses of His Majesty, his truly beloved scribe". Once established in the royal favour, he was prudent enough to secure his position by fervent zeal, or at least the show of it, in the service of the Aten, and in his tomb inscription he tells us how much he owed to his enthusiastic conformity to his master's creed. "I was one favoured of my Lord every day, great in favour from year to year because of the exceeding greatness of my

excellence in his opinion . . . my name has entered into the palace, because of my usefulness to the king, because of my hearing his teaching . . . he doubles to me my favours in silver and gold. I am first of the officials, at the head of the people . . . because I have carried out his teaching."

It was all very well, however, to be an enthusiastic Atenist when Aten was on the crest of the wave; it was quite another matter to stick to Atenism when it had fallen into the trough. Mr. By-ends, who was "always most zealous when Religion goes in his silver slippers", and who loved much "to walk with him in the street, if the sun shines and the people applaud him", came of a very ancient family, of which the Divine Father Ay was one of the most conspicuous members, having indeed been one of the very few who have gained a crown by their adherence to the household creed. When Akhenaten's death ended the sunshine for Atenism, Ay, like a wise man, realised at once that there was no sense in continuing to be true any longer to a faith which had now nothing to give. He has been suspected of having had a hand in the early death of Tutankhamen; but there seems no reason for taxing with such baseness a respectable old gentleman who only changed with the times like other sensible people. If he picked up the derelict crown which he saw lying with no claimant, and put it on his own head, that is quite another thing from having compassed the death of its former wearer.

Ay, on his accession, took a resounding royal titulary, which is in inverse proportion to his undistinguished personal name, and became Ra-kheper-kheperu-ari-maat, Neter-at-Ay-neter-heq-uast; but the name is longer than any record of what he may have done during his brief period of office. Absolutely nothing is known of his deeds, and he appears to have been nothing more than another puppet who danced as the priests of Amen pulled the wires. At all events he had not sufficient power to restrain the lawlessness which had been increasing in the land, for an instruction of his successor Horemheb to an official named Maya bids him "renew the burial of King Thothmes IV., justified, in the Precious Habitation in Western Thebes", showing that tomb-robbers were taking advan-

tage of the disturbed conditions to venture upon an attack even upon the royal tombs of the dynasty which had made Egypt so great. Tutankhamen's tomb, also, was violated within a short time of the owner's death, though the thieves were apparently disturbed at their work before they had succeeded in doing much damage. Ay's own tomb, in the Western Valley near that of Amenhotep III., shows that he found no difficulty in adapting his religious views to his changed estate. The fact that it bears a representation of twelve apes on one of its walls has caused the Arabs to call it *Turbet el-Kurud*, "the Tomb of the Apes". Considering the king's attitude to religion, and the character of his claim to royalty, the title may seem not inappropriate.

With the disappearance of this shadow-Pharaoh, the long line of the XVIIIth Dynasty comes to a close. Actually Tutankhamen was the last representative of the direct line; but as there is no other place where Ay can be reckoned, and as he is not forceful enough to claim a place by himself like his successor Horemheb, he may as well be counted among better men than himself. Horemheb is sometimes placed as the last king of the XVIIIth, and sometimes as the first king of the XIXth Dynasty. It makes little difference where we put him, for with him Egypt enters upon a new stage of her long history, and his work is essentially that of making possible the brilliant episodes which marked the early reigns of the XIXth Dynasty. We shall therefore leave him to be dealt with as the herald of the new era, when Egypt girds herself anew to make a fresh bid for the mastery of the ancient world.

CHAPTER XXXII

ART AND RELIGION IN THE AMARNA PERIOD

THE art of the Amarna Age, highly distinctive and characteristic as are all its products, cannot be viewed as an isolated phenomenon in the history of Egyptian art, unrelated to the past, and unfruitful for the future. There is, no doubt, a certain temptation to set it apart, and regard it as something which lies outside the current of the main stream of Egyptian artistic development; and that for reasons which lie on the very face of the subject and its related history. For the art of the Amarna period is set in so unique a position, and is surrounded by an atmosphere so markedly differing in its elements from that of any other time, that it is difficult not to imagine that it must have been the creation of its conditions, and have been, shall we say for the moment? as absolutely divorced from the artistic work of previous ages, as the religious thought of the time was divorced from that of the orthodox Egyptian creed. Further, it is in itself so bizarre and startling, so lacking in the conventionality which was one of the outstanding characteristics of previous work in Egypt, and so swift in establishing a new convention of its own, that it is hard to see, on a superficial view, that it can have any root in the great tradition of the past, or that it could have handed on any heritage to the future.

A closer study, however, reveals the fact that such a view is quite inconsistent with the facts, alike of the religious conceptions out of which the Amarna art grew, and of the development of the art itself. It is becoming more and more clear that there was no such divorce between Akhenaten's new religious ideas and the heritage of



CROWN OF TUTANKHAMEN
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religious thought which had been handed down in Egypt through the ages; but that, on the contrary, Atenism was in its essence a thoroughly natural development of one of the most ancient lines of spiritual thought in Egypt, and that its origins can be traced back as far as you can trace anything in Egyptian history. Akhenaten may be said to have forced the development of the one aspect of Egyptian religion which specially appealed to him, so that the results of his haste seem to us incongruous with the rest of the religious growth around it, and share in the weaknesses and lack of enduring power which are usually characteristic of forced growths of any sort; but the plant which he chose for the subject of his forcing process was a native and natural growth to begin with, however much it may have been rushed into unnatural and possibly unhealthy development by the zeal of the king. There was, therefore, no such abnormal set of conditions surrounding the growth of the Amarna art as has been imagined; and there was no reason, in the nature of things, for any divorce between the art of the past and that of Akhenaten's reign, any more than between the two schools of religious thought which influenced the two artistic movements.

Indeed the same fact becomes apparent when we turn from the *à priori* consideration of the atmosphere in which the art grew up to the actual facts presented to us by the consideration of the product of the art itself. If we are to appreciate rightly the character of Amarna art and its place in Egyptian art history, it will not do to begin with the assumption that we have to do with a phenomenon which can be dealt with by itself, and regarded as beginning and ending within its own narrow limits of space and time. No such phenomenon ever existed in the art history of the world. Even the most apparently unique and self-sufficing development of art, whether in Egypt or elsewhere, was always still a development, and not a new creation, had its roots somewhere in the artistic past, and left seeds of new growth to the artistic future. Our study of the art of this period, therefore, must begin, not with itself, but with the preceding art history which had led up to it, and the tendencies which had already begun to manifest

themselves in Egyptian artistic practice long before Akhenaten threw his apple of discord into the religious and artistic life of Egypt.

When we turn from the art of the Middle Kingdom to that of the Empire as represented by the work of the XVIIIth Dynasty, we are conscious at once of a very considerable and important change, not only in the sculpture in the round or in relief, but also in every other department of artistic work. The differences between the products of the two periods have been somewhat unduly minimised by certain scholars in the interests of a shortened chronology for the period elapsing between the fall of the XIIth and the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty; but there can be no doubt that they are great, and that they involve an attitude of mind on the part of the later artist considerably changed from that with which his brother of the Middle Kingdom looked out upon the world and men. The change is twofold; something has been lost, and, on the other hand, something has been gained. Probably the purist in art matters will hold that the loss has been greater than the gain; but there is at least a case for the argument that the wider interest, the greater grace and suavity, of the New Empire work are not to be despised even in comparison with the dignity and power of the more austere work of the Middle Kingdom artist.

The best work of the XIIth Dynasty was characterised by tremendous force and vital energy, coupled with an extraordinary sense of dignity. No one can look at the portrait statues of the great kings of the time without being impressed by the sheer power of the work, which so successfully asserts the power of the personalities portrayed. Force and dignity are expressed without the slightest concession to grace or prettiness. In fact the austerity of the XIIth Dynasty types is almost as marked a characteristic as their power. The same spirit of restraint is noticeable even in the small art of the period, though it begins to fall off towards the end of the dynasty.

Then, following upon this age of strong and masterful work, both on the throne and in the workshop, comes a period when the somewhat weary tradition of the nation is

exposed to the impact of a new race with new ideals, and, doubtless, with its own culture, as well as its own national characteristics. There is no need to imagine that the Hyksos were the outer barbarians which the Egyptian records assert them to have been. The accusation was natural, but all else that is known of the Semitic civilisation of the time contradicts it. It was a different culture which the Hyksos brought down into Egypt—but not the negation of any culture; and we are not to suppose that the only legacy which they left behind them when at last they were driven out was that use of the horse and the war-chariot which had been among the chief causes of their victory. Egypt must have learned lessons of all sorts from her long subjection; and, while national pride and hatred of the conquerors doubtless prevented any extensive intermingling of the two races, it is quite impossible to believe that no such thing took place, or that the native type was not influenced to some extent by the admixture of Semitic elements. The expulsion of the Hyksos was followed by the rapid development of the spirit of conquest, and, within a comparatively short period, not only was the whole area between the southern border of Palestine and the great bend of the Euphrates made into an Egyptian dependency, but great numbers of the Semitic inhabitants of that region were brought down into Egypt, as prisoners of war, as hostages, or as representatives of the various subject communities to which they belonged. We may be sure that in selecting the specimens of the Semitic races who were thought worth carrying down into Egypt, the very pick of the nations would be chosen; and the result in the modification alike of the Egyptian national type and the national taste must have finally been very great indeed.

Along with all this went one more factor which is found in the development of the art of every country as time goes on—the gradual change from primitive energy and severity to a less vigorous and more soft and luxurious spirit. There have been many nations whose art has shown this tendency, which at last becomes degeneration, much more manifestly than does Egypt; but there can be no

doubt that the tendency exists in Egyptian art all the same, and that, while it was powerfully fostered and encouraged by the influence of the external circumstances of the age, it would in any case have wrought a change in the character of the national art.

The net result of all these influences is that the art of the XVIIIth Dynasty differs from that of the Middle Kingdom by a greater softness and a more gracious presentation of human characteristics. It no longer makes the expression of power and dignity almost its sole object, but is almost as much concerned, one would say, with the effort to present its subjects in an attractive light. The progress of this process of what we might perhaps call the humanising of a great art begins early in the dynasty, and can be traced quite distinctly even in work of the days of Queen Hatshepsut and Thothmes III. The most important instances, of course, occur in what is always the great glory of Egyptian art, the portrait sculpture in the round. It is perhaps scarcely so conspicuous in the colossal statues, which are, however, to be regarded not so much as attempts to realise an actual personality, as constituent elements of a great architectural composition, which served their purpose adequately if they conveyed to the spectator a distinct impression of power and majesty. The gigantic head of Thothmes III. in the British Museum, for example, cannot be regarded as in any sense a personal portrait, realising the characteristic traits of the original; but it is safe to dominate everything around it wherever it is placed, which is exactly what its creator intended. Its expression of somewhat coarse and brutal self-satisfaction, rather domineering, but not without a hint of rough geniality, is quite suitable for the purpose for which it was created; but Thothmes was a great deal more than that, and the sculptor, when he had to work for a different purpose, and on a different scale, showed at once the other aspects of his master's nature which could not so easily be expressed in the gigantic monumental type.

But, even in the colossal work, one becomes conscious of a change as time goes on. Not far from the head of Thothmes, just mentioned, stands the colossal head, in

quartzose sandstone, of Amenhotep III. Much mutilated though it be, it is impossible to compare it with the broad generalisation of the larger head without feeling that here there is a distinct softening of the type, and, along with this, a distinct attempt to realise the personal traits of the subject. Amenhotep has dignity enough—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more dignified piece of work; but along with the impression of dignity goes that of individuality in a sense which is lacking in the huge Thothmes III. But while this change in the attitude of the sculptor towards his subject and the mode of rendering it is noticeable even in such work, it is much more conspicuous in the smaller and less monumental pieces. Compare, for instance, any of the outstanding portraits of the Senuserts or Amenemhats, such as the Berlin life-size statue of Amenemhat III. in grey granite, or the Senusert III., also in grey granite, in the British Museum, with the famous schist statue of Thothmes III. in the Cairo Museum. Both of the XIIth Dynasty portraits are admirable renderings of men of strong personality; but the impression conveyed by them is that strength has been the only object at which the sculptor was aiming in his work. Everything that might make for grace or pleasantness is austere rejected in the effort to convey the impression of masterful personality, and every indication of sternness is ruthlessly emphasised, till the result, while undoubtedly impressive, is by no means attractive. Thothmes, on the other hand, has power enough and to spare; the whole figure seems instinct with the consciousness of adequacy to any destiny; but there is none of the somewhat bitter hardness of the earlier work, and the great conqueror smiles upon the world with complacency. All that would have been sharp and angular in the Middle Kingdom work is softened down, and the contours are attractive without any loss of vitality or energy.

Thus we see that, even at a comparatively early stage in the XVIIIth Dynasty, the art of the portrait sculptor was already beginning to undergo a change, to drop something of its ancient severity, and to become more supple and perhaps more subtle in its rendering of character. This process of evolution was hastened and helped by a gradual

but quite unmistakable modification of the physical type, at all events in the upper classes, who of course, provide most of the subjects for the portrait sculptor's art. The outstanding physical characteristic of the older Egyptian stock is a certain raw-boned vigour which suggests considerable bodily strength, and has little suavity or grace about it; but the XVIIIth Dynasty type is quite different from this, and becomes increasingly different as time goes on. "The striking change", says Sir Flinders Petrie, "in the physiognomy and ideal type of the upper classes in the latter part of the XVIIIth Dynasty points to a strong foreign infusion. In place of the bold, active faces of earlier times, there is a peculiar sweetness and delicacy; a gentle smile and a small, gracefully curved nose are characteristic of the upper classes in the time of Amenhotep III."

This change came, of course, as so much that was modifying Egyptian life had come, from the intimate contact with other lands and races which was characteristic of the times, and particularly from the strong infusion of Syrian blood which was brought about by the conquests of Thothmes III. and his father. From first to last, the number of aliens who were brought into Egypt, and who were incorporated as new elements in the national life, must have been very considerable. Most of these outsiders came as captives, many of them were women, and we may be sure that the officers who, like the two Aahmes of El-Kab, were rewarded for their bravery by the gift of some of the captured men and women did not choose the poorer specimens, but the strongest and best favoured. The pick of the Syrian women would become the wives or concubines of the Egyptian officer class, and it is easy to realise the profound change which the steady continuance of this practice was bound to bring about in the type of the class thus intermixed with foreign blood. The resulting type, in fact, was a gradual approximation to an Egypto-Syrian or Egypto-Mitannian cast of countenance and physique.

Meanwhile, the same thing was happening in the royal family, though for different reasons. Babylonian and Mitannian princesses were coming down into Egypt to

take their places as wives of the reigning Pharaohs, until we are far away from the time when the solar stock of Egypt was kept pure and untainted by any admixture of foreign blood. For a long time Egypt refused to export princesses, though willing to receive them as imports. "From of old," wrote Amenhotep III. to Kadashman Kharbe of Babylon, "a daughter of the King of Egypt has not been given to anyone"; but even in his son's reign this prohibition was relaxed, and in any case the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty made up for it by their readiness to accumulate foreign wives, so that the later princes of the line were of very mixed descent indeed, quite as much so as any of their nobles or officers. The huge train of harem ladies who accompanied these foreign princesses into Egypt must have added another not inconsiderable element in the mixture of race, for most of them would in due course find husbands among the Egyptian nobility.

Modification of racial type was accompanied by a similar process of modification in artistic ideals. The cosmopolitanism of the period, coupled with the intimate relations into which Egypt was brought with Syrian art types and practice, exercised a profound influence upon the conservatism of the Egyptian artist. He found himself brought into touch with a culture which admired things very different from those which he loved; and as these novelties were popular with his patrons, he found himself obliged to learn the new ways and ideals of the Syrian craftsmen whose work had attracted the upper world in Egypt. The result was disastrous in the end for Egyptian art, for the Syrian craftsman, like most of his Semitic brethren, cared more for glitter and gorgeousness than for real dignity and purity of design, and was a thoroughly bad designer, though often a skilful executant. It is from this time of foreign impact upon Egyptian traditions that we are to trace the gradual decline of the Egyptian craftsman in design—a decline which leads at last to the production of work of hopelessly bad taste, at which the artist of a purer time would have been shocked, but which would have seemed quite admirable to the Semite whose influence had produced the deterioration.

The one type of work where the foreign influence could not do more than to introduce a gentler type for imitation and suggest a greater suavity in handling was that of the portrait statue, where religious considerations still required sincerity above all, even if the newer qualities of subtlety and suppleness had to be subordinated to it. Thus we have still such uncompromising pieces of realism as the grey granite portrait statue of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, the factotum of Amenhotep III., now in the Cairo Museum. Amenhotep was no Antinous, any more than his brother sage of Athens, and the sculptor was perfectly sincere in his presentation of the ugly features of the great man. The resultant portrait is one of the most powerful presentations of a shrewd and not unkindly personality that ancient art has to show us. Power, then, had by no means yet been lost, though the tendency of art was in the direction of a greater softness and suppleness of rendering, which might come, in the end, to mean the sacrifice even of power.

This preliminary survey of the tendencies which were already modifying the ancient tradition of Egyptian art has been necessary to enable us to see that what we meet with in the art of Amarna is a growth and not a cataclysm. Akhenaten did not create a strange new type of art and force it upon an unwilling people, any more than he created a new type of religion. The race, at all events in its upper classes, was being modified, and along with that modification there was going, quite naturally, a modification in the artistic types, a greater freedom in handling, and a tendency towards greater naturalism. But all this was emphasised, and indeed emphasised to exaggeration, in consequence of the dominance of certain religious principles over the king's mind, and even in consequence of his own peculiar physical characteristics.

Growth in art, as in nature, may be natural, or it may be unnaturally either hastened or retarded. In either case, the result is something which inevitably appeals to us as being bizarre and not altogether healthy; and this is precisely what we feel in the presence of the products of the art of Akhenaten's artists. It has its own attractive

qualities; we can see how its life is the same life as that which inspired that of the earlier period, and how it has developed out of the past, instead of being an exotic; but at the same time we feel that the growth has been forced, that it has acquired a twist which we can only call unnatural, and consequently that there is something unpleasant and abnormal in the result, even though there may often also be much beauty. To put it in a word, there is always about Amarna art something which leaves the suspicion of a lack of sanity, using the word in its literal, and not in its limited sense. The forcing element in this case was supplied by the king's fanatical devotion to the principle which is embodied in the title "Ankh-em-Maat", "Living in Truth", which he so frequently applies to himself. To him this principle meant realism and naturalism carried out with absolute consistency in everything. A thing might be beautiful, or it might be ugly; whether it was the one or the other did not matter in the least when it came to be represented; the one thing needful was that it should be represented truthfully in its beauty or its ugliness. "To him", says Professor Breasted, "it meant acceptance of the daily facts of living in a simple and unconventional manner. For him what *was* was right, and its propriety was evident by its very existence." Now, when you come to apply such a principle as that to the facts of life, as represented in art, not in the half-hearted and pottering fashion which we call realism and naturalism, but with an uncompromising and even almost fierce insistence on faithfulness to it through and through, it is evident that such insistence, when the insister is set in high place, is going to exercise a profound influence on the art of his time.

The influence was such that the tendency to greater freedom and naturalness, already present and advancing in Egyptian art, was forced and hastened to a very remarkable degree. Bek, the chief sculptor and architect of Akhenaten, has left us a tablet at Aswan on which he describes himself as "the assistant whom His Majesty himself taught, chief of sculptors on the great and mighty monuments of the King". It does not follow, of course,

that His Majesty made himself a nuisance to his sculptor after the manner of some monarchs who imagined that they were gifted with artistic talents; but simply that as he insisted that his canon "Living in Truth" should apply to other branches of life, so he insisted that it should be obeyed in art, leaving his artists to find out for themselves the practical applications of the principle. Things were not to be beautified in artistic representation if Nature had chosen to make them otherwise than beautiful, neither were they to be made ugly if Nature had made them beautiful. Reality was good enough for art, as for other branches of human life.

Of course, the result of this uncompromising insistence on the simple truth of things was, like all things human, a curious mixture of good and evil. Bek, and his brother artist Auta, who was sculptor to Queen Tiy, found themselves, with the rest of their brethren in art, free, as none of their predecessors had ever been, to "draw the thing as they saw it, for the god of things as they are". They took advantage of their new freedom, not absolutely, but to a large extent. Old conventions disappeared, and, instead of the familiar "hieratic" postures consecrated by the usage of many centuries, we have the king and queen, their daughters and the courtiers, represented not as they would formerly have been pictured, in formal attitudes and stifled in ceremonial dignity, but as actual living beings who are sometimes not even dignified in the positions which they adopt—as, for instance, in the pictures of the royal family at table. The disappearance of the traditional postures is not invariable, and they still reappear on occasion; but in the main the new freedom prevails, even in representations of ceremonial acts.

This was all to the good, so far as it went. We can scarcely say the same, however, with regard to the extraordinary developments which followed in respect of the portrayal of the individual human form. The change of type which we have seen in progress during the earlier reigns of the dynasty had been all in the direction of a greater delicacy, with a less powerful frame, finer facial lines, and a more gentle expression. So far, there had been

nothing abnormal in the type produced, though it perhaps contained the suggestion of a decline from the robust vigour of earlier days. But now the tendency to greater delicacy culminates in a most extraordinary and abnormal development, and does so just where such a development would tell with the utmost force—in the person of the king, who, of course, was the pattern and example for all the upper classes of society. We know that Akhenaten was abnormal—not only in his religious views, but in his bodily frame. If the bones found in his mother's tomb are to be accepted as his, then it is probable that he suffered from the uncommon but well recognised disease known as *Dystocia*, and it seems to have produced, in his case, an unusual development of the cranium, and an extraordinary over-development of the lower part of the body and the thighs. In accordance with his canon of Living in Truth, the king insisted, as one would expect, on being portrayed with no attempt to minimise these unfortunate physical peculiarities, but in all the unbeautiful grotesqueness of his abnormal development. It can scarcely be questioned that this was a matter of his own personal choice, as there is not an extant portrait of him which does not show his peculiarities, more or less. Thus the head of the state insisted on offering to his subjects an unusual and most ungraceful physical type for their devotion and adoration; and the influence of such an example always before the eyes of people and artists alike could not fail to be most unfortunate. We have seen, in our own time, how the innate snobbery of human nature has caused the imitation, in certain classes of society, of peculiarities and even deformities which unluckily characterised certain high-placed persons and social leaders. What was the misfortune of the original became the eagerly imitated adornment of hundreds and thousands of silly people, with results at which succeeding ages wonder and mock. Human nature was no more free from this ludicrous weakness in the fourteenth century B.C. than it is to-day. Because Akhenaten, unluckily for him, was deformed and ungainly, it became the fashion to consider his deformity a beauty, and to imitate it; and the whole population of Egypt, or at least all of

it which came within the purview of the court artists, suddenly became characterised by abnormally developed skulls and gross and ungainly hips and thighs. We have no reason to believe that Queen Nefertiti and her daughters were victims of the same disease which afflicted the king, and indeed one charming little torso in limestone of one of the princesses, now at University College, London, shows that she, at least, was exempt, when there was an artist to portray her as she really was and not as fashion decreed that she should be; but they had to conform to the royal type in its deformities, as in other things, and queen and princesses are generally (not, as we have just seen, invariably) portrayed with this ugly over-development; not, one may be sure, because it actually existed in them, but because it was the proper thing to be as like the king as possible. The royal example was duly copied by all who had any claim to position, and a mania for deformity spread over all the art of the period.

Such a tendency, once begun, was bound to become exaggerated as time went on. If the "paint-me-with-my warts" rule is ruthlessly insisted upon, then the peculiarities will gradually usurp more and more attention, until at last the warts are the important thing in the picture, and the subject is recognised by them and not by his other and normal features. So it was with Amarna art. There are portraits of Akhenaten which are more like a nightmare vision of the king than a real likeness. It has been suggested that these are really caricatures; but it was a dangerous thing to attempt a caricature of a reigning Pharaoh, and the hideousness of these portraits may quite naturally be explained as the result of the familiar process which makes the last line of a child's copy-book more a caricature than a copy of the headline. "No human being", says Dr. H. R. Hall, "could possibly have been quite so ugly as Ikhnaton liked to be represented in the passion for 'truth' that was part of his religion; and from various indications we know that he and his queen, his daughters and courtiers were not really such vicious degenerates as they chose to appear. A head of the king at Berlin, recently discovered at el-Amarna, is by no means exaggerated and is an interest-

ing portrait." But it is perfectly easy to trace the steps by which the delicate features of the Berlin head (the head of a poet and a dreamer) have been gradually transformed into such monstrosities as the head in hollow relief, also at Berlin.

Now this unhealthy insistence upon what was actually an exception and a deformity, and should therefore have been, if not ignored, at least merely indicated without being emphasised, proved disastrous to the future of Egyptian art. Amarna art had in it much that was noble, beautiful and fine; what was still more important, it had in it the possibility, never to recur, of the deliverance of Egyptian art from that bondage of convention within which its wonderful work had been held. But the exaggerations and peculiarities which deformed the new freedom that Amarna claimed monopolised, as always happens in such cases, the attention of the world, to the eclipsing of the far more vital and noble qualities which the art possessed, so that the general impression produced was one of insanity and degeneracy. Even now the chances are that to mention Amarna is to call up to the listener's mind a picture of spindle shanks, gross thighs, and heads shaped like vegetable marrows, while the real qualities of the art are lost behind these monstrosities. Thus an art which actually produced some of the best things which Egypt has ever given us was misrepresented and made to look ridiculous; and the great opportunity which it offered for the deliverance of the Egyptian artist into a new freedom was lost forever.

The revulsion from the eccentricities of Atenism was as complete in the sphere of art as it was in that of religion; and its result in both cases was the final destruction of originality. Amarna had asserted its claim to freedom in art as elsewhere; the result had been, in the general view, nothing but the hideous caricatures which stood in place of the dignified calm of earlier days. The only way of redemption was to turn back to the old paths, and to walk in them more steadfastly than ever. From this time forward, the inspiration has gone out of Egyptian art. Beautiful and majestic work is still produced on occasion during the XIXth

Dynasty, though with steadily diminishing vitality as the Amarna impulse dies away; the Saite period shows us that the Egyptian sculptor could still interpret character with a truthfulness worthy of Akhenaten's artists; but the Amarna work was living, and that of these later days is dying or dead. The heaviest charge that lies at the door of Akhenaten's over-emphasis of ugly truths is that it terrified the Egyptian artist away from his new-born liberty, and back into a convention that once had life within it but had it no longer.

At the same time, it is only fair to point out the positive qualities in which the art of Akhenaten's time excelled, for an art must always be judged by its best accomplishments, and not by its eccentricities. Portraiture has always been the stronghold of the Egyptian artist, though it is only now, and only gradually and reluctantly even now, that art-critics are wakening up to the fact that the most living school of portrait sculpture of the ancient world flourished for more than two thousand years in Egypt; and the best work of the Amarna school of sculpture ranks with the best of any age in Egypt in all technical qualities, and excels most of it in living quality and freedom. We might never have known how good it could be, had not the German expedition to Tell el-Amarna lighted upon the sculptor's workshop whence came the remarkable series of heads now in the Berlin Museum. The admirable characterisation shown in some of these faces of the court-circle of Akhetaten, such, for example, as those which are sometimes supposed to be Tiy, Akhenaten's nurse, and her husband Ay, afterwards Pharaoh, is a revelation of the intelligence as well as of the skill of the Egyptian sculptor of the time.

The head of the king himself, which came from the same source, has been referred to. In spite of its beauty being somewhat marred by the poor condition of the limestone, it is a most interesting piece of work, in which the characteristics which made and spoiled the king's achievement are clearly to be traced. It gives the lie to the monstrous caricatures of the later period; but at the same time it is easy to trace in it the germ out of which these slanders

grew. Not the least interesting feature of this and the other scarcely less interesting masks of the king is the palpable and striking likeness to Queen Nefertiti which they all display. The most intimate relationship between these two will scarcely be questioned by anyone who compares the two heads side by side. Perhaps the most striking of all the Amarna heads which have survived is the painted limestone bust of the queen. It is no light testimony to the quality of this great work that not continual reproduction, multiplied almost *ad nauseam* within the last few years, not even the indignity of being placarded in colour over the hoardings of countless railway stations, has succeeded in robbing Nefertiti of her charm and dignity. If one had to choose a representative piece of Amarna work to stand beside the great portraits of the Old and Middle Kingdoms and the Early Empire in a gallery of the noblest specimens of Egyptian art, probably the choice would fall upon this bust, which for delicacy of modelling, coupled with grace of subject, and sympathetic understanding of a personality, has seldom been equalled.

The popularity of the coloured-limestone Nefertiti has somewhat obscured the claims of other work of a similar kind. Yet the head of Nefertiti in brown sandstone, also in the Berlin Museum, scarcely suffers by comparison with the more famous work of art. The material in which it is wrought is less attractive, and less adapted to the delicacy of the subject; while almost all traces of the colour which no doubt once enlivened it have disappeared, and the crown, probably of gold, which once fitted on to the top of the head, has gone where the precious metals inevitably went in a land of skilled plunderers. In spite of its imperfect condition, however, the appeal made by this beautiful head is very strong, and the pensive grace of the profile is exquisitely rendered. Few of the famous historic beauties of the ancient world, or of any time, can appeal to such convincing evidence in support of their reputation as can Akhenaten's beautiful queen. The full-length statuette of Nefertiti, still showing traces of colour, is less attractive, and indeed its chief interest lies in the evidence of how the same features may be presented under different conditions

in such fashion as to lose a great deal of their charm; but the portraits of the princesses are very charming in their absolute simplicity. One of the most interesting products of the Amarna school of sculpture is the little head in ebony and gold which was found in the Fayum, and has been called in Germany, where it now is, the head of Queen Tiy, though this attribution is questioned by many, and the resemblance to the Sinai head of the queen, which is unquestionably authentic, is remote. In spite of the doubt as to what royal name we are to label it with, this is an astonishing piece of work. It is only a few inches high; but it does not in any sense belong to the domain of small art. On the contrary it shows more power and is more impressive than many a colossus; and it would be difficult to imagine a more striking presentation of a strong personality than that offered by this face, lined with care and possibly with suffering, but curiously attractive.

In the other great departments of art, such as coloured relief and painting, the chief characteristic of the Amarna period is the development of that tendency in the direction of greater freedom and naturalness of representation which had already begun to show itself at an earlier stage in the dynasty. Queen Hatshepsut's reliefs at Der el-Bahri already exhibit the dawn of this tendency and the breathing of a new spirit into the old conventions of such work. The best work of the time of Amenhotep III., however, shows a distinct advance on this respect, and such reliefs as those of the tombs of Khaemhat and Userhet show, along with great delicacy and daintiness, a freedom of handling such as is lacking in older work. Not that the new empire artist is the superior of his predecessor, but that he has reached the stage where he is so much master of his material that he feels able to amuse himself with it in a way which the older artist would not have ventured upon.

The same is true, in a degree, with regard to painting. But here we have to be on our guard against the mistake of exaggerating the change. "The result" (of Akhenaten's insistence on 'Living in Truth'), says Professor Breasted, "was a simple and beautiful realism that saw more clearly



HEAD OF NEFERTITI

than any art had ever seen before. They caught the instantaneous postures of animal life: the coursing hound, the fleeing game, the wild bull leaping in the swamp; for all these belonged to the 'truth' in which Ikhnaton lived." This is true to a certain extent, but by no means absolutely. From of old, the Egyptian had been a devout lover of nature in all her aspects, and his love of the open air, the river, trees and gardens, the marshes with their wild life, and all the sports of the field had produced a race of artists who gratified this happy taste of his with rare fidelity to the truth of what they saw. Realism was in the blood of the old artists who gave us the wonderful scenes of sport in the desert, the marsh, and on the river; and the great work of earlier days was carried on, and even carried a step further, by artists such as he who gave the scene of the wild birds rising from the marsh, in the tomb of Amenemhat (a scribe during the reign of Thothmes III.), or he who saw, with such appreciation of the humour of the scene, the lean and hungry cat which eagerly devoured the fish in the tomb of Nakht. Forty years before the time of Akhenaten the artists of the empire were doing work which is quite as realistic as anything from the Amarna period.

In short, it is quite a mistake to speak of the painted pavements of Akhenaten's palace as if they were the first real attempts at naturalistic rendering of open-air life on the part of the Egyptian artist. The work which has survived from the ruins of the palace of Akhenaten's father, scanty though its fragments are, suffices to show the contrary, and the fluttering birds and butterflies which decorated the ceiling of the palace of Amenhotep, and the swimming ducks which adorned its pavement are just as realistic as anything from Amarna, though the scheme of decoration is not so complex as that of the later work. Bek and Auta, and their fellows of the brush undoubtedly mark an advance in the direction of naturalism and freedom from convention; but we have to recognise that it is an advance, and not a revolution. There were artists before them who could see life steadily as well as they, and could translate what they saw into sculpture and colour for the delight of

their patrons. Indeed it is more than likely that if painting alone had been the criterion, and the Amarna Age had left us nothing else in the way of artistic work than its pictures of wild life, we should never have dreamed that the tradition of Egyptian art had ever been broken. We should have said, what is virtually true still, that the advance was not a breaking with the tradition, but a perfectly legitimate advance along lines already indicated.

It is the sculpture, and especially, though by no means exclusively, the sculpture in the round, which entitles one to talk about "Amarna Art" as a distinct entity, possessed of a life and individuality of its own. Even here, of course, we have to remember that the Egyptian artist of the preceding generation or generations had been showing tendencies of advancing in the same direction as that which was followed by Akhenaten's sculptors, and, in addition, that the most conspicuous differentiation of Amarna sculpture from that of the generation before it is a blemish, rather than a beauty. But undoubtedly in sculpture of both sorts, the artist of the period did produce work stamped, in a sense which you cannot predicate of the painting, with so marked an individuality that no one can mistake it for anything else but Amarna work. The beautiful little coloured relief in the Berlin Museum which used to be considered a representation of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, is now supposed by some critics to picture rather Semenkhara and Meritaten (their turn for a little booming having apparently arrived). The change in attribution, however, whether well-grounded or not, does not at all affect the artistic value or the characteristics of the piece, which remains a most charming and important example of the length to which the artist of the period allowed himself to go in naturalism even in the case of a Pharaoh and his queen. Were it not for the royal emblems which adorn the brows of Akhenaten and Nefertiti (or Semenkhara and Meritaten), no one would imagine that the two graceful and natural figures were those of a god incarnate and his divine wife. Pharaoh and Queen are here simple human beings, and, if the king's posture suggests somewhat the languor of an æsthete, the queen is alert and pert enough

to make up for her husband's laziness. The beautiful panel in coloured glazes and faience, from the back of Tutankhamen's golden throne, represents the young king and queen Ankhsenamen in a very similar way, the only differences being that in this case the king is sitting instead of standing (or slouching) and his wife is anointing him instead of offering him a lotus-bud to sniff.

The small art of the time is distinguished, like all that of the XVIIIth Dynasty, by great delicacy and daintiness, and also by a greater tendency to luxury. Such a development was to be expected in an age which had gradually wakened to the realisation of the fact that it had all the treasures of the world at its command. It is not, as yet, the beginning of the decadence; but there is a softness and sensuousness about the products of the time which in due course will end in over-ripeness and decay. Meanwhile they are exceedingly beautiful and charming. Art finds a means of expression in the design and execution of little articles for personal adornment, or for the toilet-tables of the court ladies. The ointment spoons and jars, the mirrors and mirror-cases, the combs and similar trifles, carved in foreign woods, and more rarely in ivory, are often examples of how such work can be made exquisitely beautiful without destroying its fitness for the purpose for which it was created. One would say that the work of the time was not less beautiful than that of the Middle Kingdom, but was softer, subtler, and of less promise for the future. "We are in an age not less tasteful in its own way," says Dr. H. R. Hall, "but in a different way. Its delicacy is not the delicacy of the XIIth Dynasty. It is less honest, more subtle; it is just beginning to be a little artificial." All the same, if the delight of a race in the beautiful, and its taste in the acquisition of beautiful things for its own immediate use, is to be a test of its culture, we need not flatter ourselves that we have advanced upon the standard of the Egyptians of 1400 B.C., for we most emphatically have not.

The Syrian influence which we have noted as becoming more and more prominent in Egyptian art, finally with disastrous results, from the time of Thothmes III. onwards, is not specially conspicuous in the work of the

Amarna period; perhaps because intercourse with Syria was becoming less habitual with the neglect of the Asiatic provinces by Akhenaten. Syrian pottery occurs pretty frequently; but otherwise there is no strong infusion of Syrian elements. The case is different, however, with the much more living and vivacious art of Crete, which was brought freely into contact with that of Egypt at this time, in spite of the eclipse of the House of Minos at Knossos, which took place immediately before Akhenaten's accession. The Minoan pottery which was so popular in Egypt at this time probably came either from Rhodes and others of the Aegean islands, or from the mainland of Greece, in view of the disturbed conditions in Crete. Stirrup vases and wine-strainers of the characteristic Minoan forms were common in Egypt, and the clever Egyptian craftsman imitated them skilfully in faience, alabaster, and metal. It has been supposed that it was Minoan influence which was largely at work in producing the naturalism of Amarna art; but to imagine this is to exaggerate an element which may have been present to some slight extent, but of which no marked results can be traced. In fact, we should look for Minoan influence to manifest itself most of all in the painting of the Amarna artists, where the fresco work of Crete might be expected to produce an effect; but it is just here, as we have seen, that the Amarna artist is really following a little further a path already marked out for him by the traditions of his predecessors.

The fact of the matter is that Minoan art had little to teach the Egyptian artist—at least little which the latter would think worthy of his acceptance. The Minoan had perhaps a spark of somewhat impish fire which his Egyptian brother never possessed, and he could throw off some astonishingly vivacious impressions of human and animal life, marked by a freshness and dash to which the Egyptian never attained; but the Egyptian was the bigger man all the same, trained in draughtsmanship and executive ability in a manner quite alien to the somewhat slap-dash impressionism of the Cretan, who didn't mind in the least how much his drawing was defective if the general impression pleased him. The Egyptian learned something



HEAD OF STATUE OF TUTANKHAMEN

from the Cretan's freedom; but he had too long a tradition of sound and great work behind him to be carried away by any outside influence. He took what he saw to be good from his contact with the Minoan, assimilated it, and put his own spirit into it; the rest he discarded as useless to him.

What height of skill the Egyptian craftsman could attain at this time has been abundantly revealed to us by the miraculous craftsmanship of scores of articles from the tomb of Tutankhamen. Undoubtedly the same source has provided us also with examples of bad taste as flagrant as any that still survive here and there in houses whose Mid-Victorian abominations have not yet been cast out—witness the unspeakably vulgar and pretentious alabaster vases. But that merely teaches us that there is no art which has not at times its lapses into vulgarity; and there is enough that is pure and beautiful in the art of the Amarna Age to efface from our minds the offence of these abortions.

We have now to deal with the question of the nature of the faith for whose sake Akhenaten risked and lost an empire and profoundly modified the whole course of Egyptian development for the remainder of the national history. What was Atenism, and wherein did it differ from the other faiths which it attempted to supplant in the national affection?

The course of Egyptian religious history is mainly that of two great parallel streams which flow side by side throughout by far the greater part of the story of the land and nation. The one stream is that of Sun-worship; the other is that of the worship of the great fertility god who came finally, as Osiris, to be regarded as the god of the resurrection and of immortality. The Egyptian, as he looked abroad upon his world, was continually confronted by two great natural phenomena, upon which his life and prosperity obviously depended, and which therefore naturally came to offer themselves to him as the supreme divinities of his pantheon. Of these, probably the first to impress itself upon the mind of the dweller by the Nile was the Sun, which nowhere in the world plays a greater part than it does here in the lives of men. "The all-enveloping

glory and power of the Egyptian sun", says Breasted, "is the most insistent fact in the Nile valley, even at the present day as the modern tourist views him for the first time". Here was a power which could not be ignored in the scheme of life, and upon whose efficiency life itself depended. Little later, however, must have come the recognition of a second fact—that life depended also upon the annual miracle of the renewal of the face of the land, and the consequent fertility of it, which was the effect of the Inundation.

Breasted's statement as to the parallelism of these two great currents of religious thought in Egypt, Solar- and Nile-worship, has been questioned; but it appears to offer the only reasonable account of the course of the development of the national religion. "As we examine Egyptian religion", he says, "in its earliest surviving documents it is evident that two great phenomena of nature had made the most profound impression upon the Nile-dwellers, and that the gods discerned in these two phenomena dominate religious and intellectual development from the earliest times. These are the Sun and the Nile. In the Sun-god, Re, Atum, Horus, Khepri, and in the Nile, Osiris, we find the great gods of Egyptian life and thought, who almost from the beginning entered upon a rivalry for the highest place in the religion of Egypt—a rivalry which ceased only with the annihilation of Egyptian religion at the close of the fifth century of the Christian era. He who knows the essentials of the story of this long rivalry will know the main course of the history of Egyptian religion, not to say one of the most important chapters in the history of the early East."

With the latter of the two streams of religious development, we have not to do in our present study, for the gradual process of Osirianisation, by which Osiris became not only a national god of life after death but a universal one, had not yet reached a stage at which it could make any contribution to the need which had been gradually springing up in Egyptian minds of a god whose universal character should correspond to the revelation which the conquests of the XVIIIth Dynasty Pharaohs had been

making of a vastly wider world than any they had yet known, and an enormously extended sphere of human interests and civilisations. Our concern is with the other stream, the current of solar worship, which was linked, in all its earlier stages, so far back as we can trace them, with the name of the god in use at Heliopolis, the sacred city which lay close to the ancient Memphis and to the modern Cairo. There were, of course, other forms of the Sun-god, doubtless all originally local in their origin, which had a narrower or wider acceptance according to the power of the city or district which adopted them. The Sun-god of Edfu, for instance, was the falcon Horus or Harakhte, "Horus of the Horizon", and there were several other forms of Horus, all representing forgotten local aspects of the Sun-god. But Ra-Atum, the sun-god of Heliopolis, at an early stage acquired a political as well as a religious supremacy over the other aspects of the solar divinity, and was linked with the fortunes of the Egyptian state by the fact that the Pharaoh was High-priest of Ra, and was considered as his embodiment.

The Heliopolitan priestly college was sufficiently prudent and skilful to establish this intimate relationship with the throne on a firm basis at the first opportunity by the circulation of a legend that the line of Pharaohs which they favoured was actually of direct descent from Ra himself; and the tale preserved in the Westcar Papyrus pictures the kings of the Vth Dynasty as being begotten of Ra. In point of fact, the Vth Dynasty Pharaohs are priest-kings, and their associations are with an intensified and specialised form of solar-worship, as is indicated by the details of their temples. Henceforward, and down to the end of Egyptian history, each Pharaoh claims for himself the title, "Son of Ra".

At this comparatively early stage, however, the worship of the sun-god was characterised by two features which are alien to its later developments. The first is that the early Egyptian solar faith knows nothing of universality; and the second, that it is marked, in a manner which it is difficult to trace at a later stage, by a decided ethical element. Naturally, of course, one conceives of a solar faith as

having an element of universality in its very essence; but the early Egyptian, in his narrow valley, by no means inclined to accept any such idea. His sun-god was his own, and belonged to nobody else; he was the ruler and defender of Egypt alone, and he kept the gate of his own land barred against all outsiders.

The doors that are on thee. . . .
They open not to the Westerners,
They open not to the Easterners,
They open not to the Southerners,
They open not to the Northerners,
They open not to the dwellers in the midst of the earth,
They open to Horus.
It was he who made them,
It was he who set them up.

Such a restriction seems to our minds inconsistent with the very idea of a Sun-god, who rises alike upon the evil and the good; but it presented no difficulties to the mind of the Egyptian, who never vexed his soul about such trifles as inconsistencies in the amazing jumble of his religious beliefs.

On the other hand, the early view of the sun-god embraced the conception that he was a god of righteousness, and, indeed, the fashioner of righteousness in the beginning. It is important to notice this element in the early development of the solar faith, as one of the things which are missing, to a great extent, in the Atenistic conception is just this ethical element, which one would have expected to find rather highly developed than otherwise in a creed which lays such stress on the beneficent character of the god whom it celebrates. It is possible, however, that this lack of emphasis on the moral aspect of the sun-god's nature is to be traced to the gradual growth in the Egyptian mind of Osirianism as the ethical aspect of religion, and to the increasing importance of the conception of Osiris as the Judge of human action.

The position of advantage which the priests of Heliopolis had been able to secure for their god at so early a stage stood him in good stead throughout the later developments and changes of the national history; for even when

another important local god rose to prominence owing to political changes, the supremacy of Ra was so firmly established that the priests of the parvenu invariably found it necessary, or at least convenient, to explain that their god was not a negation of Ra, but merely another aspect of the great god of Egypt. Even when the triumphs of the Mentuhoteps, Senuserts, and Amenemhats, in the Middle Kingdom, superseded, to some extent, Memphis and Heliopolis as centres of power and thought by the rise of Thebes, the priesthood of the hitherto unimportant local god of Thebes, Amen, did not venture to set him up on his own local footing as the new god of the land, but identified him with Ra, and gave him, for the first time, the compound title of Amen-Ra, by which he was to be known during the palmy days of the Egyptian empire.

Solar worship, then, was one of the cardinal facts of Egyptian religion; in fact it may be virtually called, at this stage, *the* cardinal fact. There was no other belief in the land which could have dared for a moment to challenge its supremacy, and even the god of the conquering Theban Pharaohs had to come to terms with his more ancient fellow-deity, and identify himself with the time-honoured god, before he could hope for general acceptance throughout the Nile valley. In other words, such a solar worship as Atenism essentially was, introduced, in one sense, no novelty to the Egyptian mind, but was building upon foundations which were as old, and as generally accepted, as anything in Egypt. We have to seek the differentia which made Atenism unacceptable to the ordinary Egyptian elsewhere than in the mere fact of its having been an extreme insistence upon the supremacy of solar worship; for the Egyptian was perfectly well accustomed to the idea of the supremacy of Ra.

Indeed, it is very probable that one of the elements at the back of the whole business of Atenism was, not any craving after something novel and unprecedented in religion, but rather a desire to get back to the old paths which had been forsaken for the new ways of the parvenu god of Thebes. The Heliopolitan college of priests, recognised as being the most learned of all the Egyptian

priestly colleges, cannot have been over well pleased to witness the way in which they and their god were being thrust into the background to make room for a god who was next to unknown until the XIIth Dynasty, and to realise that treasures more substantial than the prestige of the shrine of Ra were passing them by, to be offered to this god of the day before yesterday. It was true, no doubt, that even Amen, *nouveau riche* as he was, had not presumed to claim the wealth of the East as his own in his own right alone, but had been obliged to admit Ra to nominal companionship with himself, and to call himself Amen-Ra; but this did not fill the empty coffers and storehouses of Ra at Heliopolis. Practically everything was going to the upstart god of Thebes since the XVIIIth Dynasty conquests began. Pharaoh might casually fling a trifle or two out of his Syrian spoils to the more ancient gods of the land; but these things were but the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table compared with what he was pouring out with lavish hand upon the altars of Amen. The Theban god, Benjamin among the Egyptian gods in point of age, was getting Benjamin's share of all the good things, and his portion was five times as great as that of any of the other gods.

It was only natural, in such circumstances, that jealousy should prevail among the priesthoods of the older gods, and especially among that of Ra; and it is possible that in the famous stele which stands between the outstretched paws of the Great Sphinx at Gizeh, and recounts the clearing of the great statue from sand at the instance of Thothmes IV. when Crown Prince, we have also the record of a movement which attempted to restore the Sun-god to his ancient position of primacy in the Egyptian pantheon. The fact that, as the stele states, Thothmes was promised the kingship by the god in return for his good offices towards the statue, is scarcely sufficient evidence on which to base a theory of his having succeeded to the throne after a disputed succession; but it forcibly suggests that Akhenaten's grandfather was moving in the direction of securing for Ra a greater prominence in the public eye, and a greater share of power and profit than had fallen to

his lot since Amen's usurpation of the supremacy. The further fact that the wife of Thothmes IV., Mutemuya, was a Mitannian princess, and that among the Mitannian gods were such solar and celestial divinities as the Mitannian equivalents of Mithra, Varuna, and Indra, may also suggest that not only internal jealousies among the Egyptian priesthods, but also external influences from Mitanni, may have been operative in the direction of a reaction in favour of sun-worship. It ought to be remembered, however, that while such an influence is a distinct possibility, and even, considering the still closer relations between Egypt and Mitanni in the next reign, a probability, the positive evidence for its existence is singularly small. From first to last, the movement was essentially an Egyptian one. The attempt to trace the whole conception of Atenism to Syrian sources, and to identify Aten with the Syrian Adon, is, of course, merely a vain imagining, whose supporters have been led away by a superficial resemblance between two names which have in reality no common element.

That the movement towards greater recognition of the solar element in the national religion continued and gathered strength during the reign of Akhenaten's father, we have already seen in the account of the events of that reign. The significance of the title of the royal barge of Amenhotep and Tiye has been pointed out; but still more conclusive is that of the language employed upon the stele of the twin brothers Hor and Suti, architects to Amenhotep. When we find, upon such a private memorial, such a phrase as "sole lord, taking captive all lands every day", addressed to the sun-god, we begin to realise that along with the recognition of the ancient solar god there is going in the public mind a dim recognition of him also as not only the god of Egypt, but of all the world. The universalism of Akhenaten's creed is here wrapped about still with many of the stock phrases of the past, but it is present, all the same, even although the hymn in which it occurs is addressed to "Amen when he riseth as Horus of the Two Horizons". It came as a wonderful surprise, hundreds of years later, to the author of the 87th Psalm to believe that

his God might conceivably have an interest in the men of Egypt and Babylon, of Philistia, Tyre, and Ethiopia, as well as in his own chosen people; so, in this hymn, we see the surmise dawning upon the minds of the twin brothers that their Sun-god was not only the god of Egypt, but of all the earth. "It is evident in such a hymn as this", says Breasted, "that the vast sweep of the Sun-god's course over all the lands and peoples of the earth has at last found consideration, and the logical conclusion has followed . . . the momentous step has been taken of extending the sway of the Sun-god over all lands and peoples".

Finally, so far as regards the preliminary growth of Atenism, we have the fact that one of the blocks which Horemheb afterwards re-used in the building of his pylon at Karnak bears a figure of the Sun-god as the falcon-headed Horus, with the full Atenist title, "Horus-of-the-Horizon, rejoicing in his horizon, in his name of Shu-who-is-in-the-Aten". The royal figure associated with that of the god has Akhenaten's cartouche, "Nefer-kheperu-Ra"; but inspection shows that this has been altered in ancient days from that of Amenhotep III. It is manifest, therefore, that, in the reign of Amenhotep III., there was already at Thebes a shrine in which Akhenaten's father was represented as worshipping the new deity, not as yet in the symbolical form which he would have borne in the next reign, but still with his new titles.

We are thus enabled to see Atenism as what it really was—no new and sudden innovation upon the ancient creeds of Egypt, breaking up old conventions, and shocking the religious consciousness of the race with its wanton departure from the old paths, but rather, to begin with, at all events, a return to the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the most ancient of Egyptian gods; while even its universalism was not a thing suddenly sprung upon an unprepared nation, but an idea which had been gradually taking shape, vaguely and dimly, indeed, but surely, in the minds of generation after generation of men, who had been slowly waking, under the impulse of their own conquests, to the knowledge of a world vaster and



UPPER PART OF INNERMOST COFFIN OF TUTANKHAMEN. SOLID GOLD
AND INLAY

By permission of Howard Carter, Esq

more complex than their own narrow valley with its boundary of barren hills.

Akhenaten's creed being thus put into its proper perspective, and realised as a step in the evolution of Egyptian religion and not a catastrophic interruption of this progress, we are next brought up against the question—Why, if all this is so, did the adoption of such a creed produce such a disastrous separation between the king and his people? and why were its consequences in the development of Egyptian religion those which a cataclysm might be expected to produce, not those of a gradual evolutionary process? The evidence all shows Atenism as a plant rooted in Egyptian soil from of old, growing and increasing with the growing world-consciousness of the race. Then you are suddenly faced with a total change in the picture, and Atenism appears like a pebble thrown into a great machine, arresting all the movement of the wheels with a shattering crash, smashed into fragments itself by the consequences of the interruption it has caused, and finally flung out as the machine gathers momentum once more, but leaving such traces of its momentary presence that the wheels never move so sweetly again. If the one picture is true, how can the other be true also? And, if both represent the actual facts as they succeed one another, what was it that brought the change from growth to catastrophe?

To find an answer to this question, we must look at the leading characteristics of the royal creed, and try to see if in them, or in any result of them or exaggeration of them, the root of bitterness which ruined a noble idea is to be found. The first and the most obvious feature of Akhenaten's creed is simply the universalism which has been so much insisted upon in the last few pages. Akhenaten's god is simply another form of the familiar old sun-god Ra, whom Egypt had known for countless years; but Ra has suffered a sea-change. He is no longer the god of Egypt; he is the god of the whole world, and the god of all living creatures as well as of man. He is interested in the men of Syria and Kush, no less than in the men of Egypt; nay, his interest in them is insisted upon by placing them first in the list of those for whom he cares.

The foreign countries, Syria and Kush,
 The land of Egypt;
 Thou settest every man into his place,
 Thou suppliest their necessities.

We have just been seeing that universalism was more or less in the air in these cosmopolitan days of the XVIIIth Dynasty; but then Akhenaten's understanding of what universalism meant was a different thing from the general and vague sentiment that God must be over everything, which was all that the idea amounted to in the general mind, as it is all that it amounts to still in most cases. Akhenaten's universal god was a much more real and potent being in the lives of all men than the consciousness of his people had yet realised. He did not only shine over other lands, he loved them as well.

Thy rays, they encompass the lands, even all that thou hast made.
 Thou art Ra, and thou carriest them all away captive;
 Thou bindest them by thy love.

To us such an idea is not only natural, but beautiful; but I suspect it appeared very differently to the average Egyptian, who might be willing for a moment, in the pride of his new knowledge of the wider world, to admit the possibility of his own Ra ruling over it all, but had no idea whatsoever of seeing himself put on a level with "the wretched Retenu" or "the vile Kush". Kames probably described the normal Egyptian sentiment far more accurately than did Akhenaten's gentle praise of God's universal love when he pictured himself with disgust "sitting cheek by jowl with an Asiatic and a Nigger". There are plenty highly respectable Christians to-day who would admit, just as the Egyptian of 1400 B.C. admitted, that their God was over all men, but who would be just as indignant as, I suspect, Akhenaten's Egyptians were when their king proceeded to draw the logical inferences, if they were asked to put their universalism into practice and welcome "a coloured gentleman" to equality with themselves. It seems probable, then, that one of the first reasons for the disturbance which the new creed created was simply that Akhenaten expressed in plain words what universalism

really meant; and the Egyptians did not like it, any more than many of us like similar explanations of the content of Christianity to-day.

So far, one's sympathy is entirely with Akhenaten in his quarrel with the elements in his nation which protested against his conception of the first article of his creed. Unfortunately the same cannot be said with regard to the second article, or rather with regard to the king's application of it. Akhenaten was evidently one of those unlucky men who, while nature has blessed them with unusual clearness of vision, pay a dear price for the gift by seeing everything without the atmosphere in which imperfect human life has to be lived, and which makes possible a gentle tolerance of the imperfections of man's understanding and practice. The king lived in a lunar landscape, where there were no half-tones, but all was pitiless black and white, and he could admit no place in his world for anything which did not absolutely conform to the truth as he saw it. So the second article of his creed was monotheism, but monotheism of a remorselessly logical type such as was bound to make trouble for him in a world which is not governed by logic.

His monotheism grew, perfectly naturally and rightly, out of his universalism; what was not so natural or so right, in such a world as this, was the ruthless intolerance which gradually grew up out of the monotheism. Not all at once, but by degrees, whose succession is clearly enough marked in the surviving records of his reign, he came to the conclusion that if he were to be true to his convictions it was impossible for him to tolerate the worship of beings which to him were non-existent—what a Hebrew would have called "No-gods". In fact his god was exactly the kind of being whom the Hebrew believed Jehovah to be when he spoke of him as "a jealous God", and this aspect of his belief produced precisely the same kind of result as it did in the case of a zealous Hebrew prophet. Idolatry, as he conceived the worship of the ancient gods of Egypt to be, was a thing to be put down at all hazards by a king on whom the true light had dawned, and the decree went forth, to be enforced with gradually growing strictness, that worship

was to be reserved for the sole god, the Aten, and that the ancient gods were to be disregarded as so much lumber.

The shock which all this must have given to a people so devout in their own way as the Egyptians may be imagined. Indeed, there can be little doubt that it was the intolerance of Atenism, more than any other feature of the king's creed, which finally wrecked his life-work, and ended in retarding, instead of advancing, the cause of religious progress and enlightenment in the land. Had Akhenaten been content to secure for his faith merely a place among the other Egyptian faiths, as the Amen priesthood, wiser in their generation than the king, had been content, one can well believe that Atenism, with all the prestige of court favour to back it, and with a Pharaoh for its prophet, might in the end have come to supremacy in Egypt, just as Amenism had done since the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty. But Akhenaten was of the type which allows of no compromise between truth and error. The theoretical nobility of such an attitude is admitted; practically it has been the root of some of the greatest disasters in human history, and has produced some of the most unlovely results that humanity has ever been cursed with. Intolerance is the natural instinct of a mind loftily conscious of its own integrity and singly devoted to the truth as revealed to it; but in a world such as we know, the only being who can afford to be intolerant would seem to be one who is also omniscient and omnipotent. Akhenaten's devotion to the truth as he saw it was a noble thing; but in practice it came down to such pettinesses as the hammering out of the names of good men who never had the chance of knowing that god of love in whose misused name the sacrilege was committed, and it gave the cause of real religion in Egypt a set-back from which it never quite recovered.

The third characteristic of Atenism is one about which there has recently been a considerable amount of controversy, so that it may be better for the moment to put the point in the form of a question rather than in that of an affirmation. Was the religion of Akhenaten based on a spiritual conception of his god, or was it not? To put it in another way, did the king worship merely the actual

physical sun-disk, or was the disk merely the symbol of the being, or the vital power, call it as you will, behind it? Till within the last few years, the view has been generally held that Akhenaten's view of his god was a spiritual one, and that his worship was directed to the life-giving power of the sun, and not to the material globe itself. Breasted and Erman, for example, have both agreed that we are to regard Akhenaten's creed as accepting an immaterial god of whom the solar-disk is but the symbol. "If however", says Erman, "we study the new name of the god, *Har-akhte who triumphs on the horizon in his name 'Splendour, who is in the disc of the sun'*, we shall see in it the co-operation of learned speculation. No simple-minded worshipper of Re-Harakhte would thus have designated his god. It is a subtle title, which undoubtedly should be interpreted in its abstract meaning, that it was not the actual planet that was worshipped, but the being who manifests himself therein." Professor Erman's astronomy may be a little shaky, but his meaning is quite clear.

Breasted's affirmation of the spiritual, or at least the non-material, nature of the king's divinity is equally clear. "However evident the Heliopolitan origin of the new state-religion might be, it was not merely Sun-worship; the word Aton was employed in place of the old word for 'god' (*neter*), and the god was evidently conceived to be far more than the merely material sun. The king was evidently deifying the light or the vital heat which he found accompanying all life." "It is evident that what the king was deifying was the force by which the Sun made himself felt on earth."

On the other hand, Sethe, followed in this country chiefly by Blackman and Peet, has maintained that Erman and Breasted are mistaken in the interpretation which they have put upon the title of the new god, and that instead of reading "Splendour" or "Heat-which-is-in-the-Aten" we should accept the literal form "Shu-who-is-in-the Aten", or "Shu-who-is-the-Aten", and believe that Akhenaten was simply referring thus to the actual material disk itself. This, of course, carries with it the implication that Akhenaten, instead of spiritualising the religion of Egypt, was

attempting to materialise it; and this implication Dr. Blackman cheerfully accepts, though Professor Peet only does so with some qualms and qualifications. "It was the actual cosmic body," says Dr. Blackman, "the physical sun itself, not a mysterious power incorporated in it or working through it, which Okhnaton made his subjects worship." "It may be said", says Professor Peet, "that no Egyptian god had ever been represented under so purely physical an aspect as this, even the nature gods having been given a human body"—though why a human body should not be considered as a "physical aspect" does not immediately appear. "If there was any real change in Akhenaten's new conception of the sun-god as shown in form and name," he continues, "it was in the direction of greater materialism."

The conflict of authority is as complete, and apparently irreconcilable, as could be looked for. Without making any attempt to enter upon the battlefield, one or two points may be suggested as worthy of notice. First, that it is difficult to believe that the solar-disk as worshipped by Akhenaten, was or could ever be regarded as anything else than a symbol. The rays which radiate from the disk are most frequently (not invariably) represented as terminating in hands which hold the *ankh*, the symbol of life; while to the disk is attached the royal uraeus, the cobra which was worn on the brow of an Egyptian king. In addition, the divine names are enclosed in two cartouches, as if they had been those of a king. "One of them, indeed," says Professor Peet, referring to the divine titles, "is used almost in defiance of logic, for the title 'lord of all that the Disk embraces' while suitable when applied to a king, as it often was, loses all its force when applied to the Disk itself." It is strange that Professor Peet does not see that this very title implies the distinction between the god and his emblem, and that when it is viewed in its natural meaning there is no such defiance of logic in it as he imagines. It is quite manifest, from these facts, that the disk which was worshipped was regarded by the king in a symbolic, and not in a literal sense. Other things point in the same direction. On the boundary stele K of Akhetaten, the king calls

the Aten "My rampart of a million cubits, my reminder of eternity, my witness of the things of eternity, who fashioned himself with his own hands, whom no artificer knew". These are curious epithets to be applied to a merely material solar disk; and the ordinary reader will probably conclude that, if words have any meaning, the king was expressing in them his devotion to a being who might indeed be symbolised by the solar disk, but was essentially beyond and above it—in short, a spiritual god.

Apart from all such considerations, however, there is one point which seems worth recalling to notice. If Akhenaten's new god was merely the physical disk of the sun, then he was no new god at all. For countless years the Egyptians had been worshipping under his various aspects of the rising, the midday, and the setting sun, Harakhte, Ra, Atum, the very deity whom Akhenaten, on the material theory, now offered to them. How, then, is the rift which his proposal at once opened in Egyptian religion to be explained? The Egyptians were not precisely fools, who fell out with their king for the mere pleasure of a quarrel. Yet, we are asked to believe, because he invited them to go on doing (perhaps with greater intensity) precisely what they had been doing for centuries, they promptly disowned him and called him "that criminal of Akhenaten!" The whole business becomes absolutely unintelligible, if we accept the material theory, and unintelligible from both sides. From the national point of view, for the nation had long worshipped nothing more or less than the material sun, whatever esoteric doctrine the priests may have held or may not have held. From the king's point of view scarcely less, for it is hard to see why Akhenaten's materialism should have been intolerant of the other materialisms, which, as he could not fail to see, existed in the nature of things as well as his own material god—Khonsu, the Moon-god, for instance, or Hapi, the god of the Nile. If the king had arrived at the conception of a sole god, universal and spiritual, as we believe him to have done, then both his intolerance and the opposition of his people are intelligible. If not, then we are left to believe that he broke

his heart, and that the Egyptian empire was ruined, over a question of how to

distinguish and divide
A hair 'twixt south and south-west side.

Theological controversies have often arisen over infinitesimal points; but very certainly none other ever arose over a point so infinitesimal as this.

To sum up, therefore, the outstanding characteristics and differentia of Atenism were First, Universalism; Second, and as a corollary of the first, Monotheism; Third (to be stated with a certain amount of hesitation in view of the divided state of opinion on the subject) The recognition of the Spirituality of the God.

There remains to be noticed one point with regard to the content of the new creed which seems curious if we believe Akhenaten's faith to have been on the whole an advance on anything which Egypt had hitherto known. "The Disk religion", as Professor Peet expresses it, "is singularly devoid of ethical content." In this, of course, it is by no means alone in Egypt, for this is the characteristic of Egyptian religion in general; so that if we are to blame Akhenaten for not insisting on the need for righteousness in the disciples of the Aten teaching, we must do so with the admission that he was no worse than those who had gone before him. But this does not affect the fact that, having regard to the general character of the royal teaching, we should have looked for an advance in this respect also. He may be no worse than his predecessors, but we expected him to be better. "The real reformation in Egyptian religion would have been, in our opinion, one which brought into greater prominence the duty to one's neighbour and placed it in direct relation with the duty to the gods. We cannot see that Akhenaten did this. There is no word of conduct in the hymns."

It cannot be denied that this statement as to the absence of ethical content in the extant examples of Atenist teaching is perfectly true. It is also true that we cannot do more than judge the faith of Akhenaten by the scanty remains of it which have survived, and that we have no right

to insist upon the belief that in other documents of the new religion, if we had them, we should find the ethical element done justice to. We do not know, perhaps we never shall know; and nothing has done Atenism more injustice than the over-statements of the enthusiasts who have found wonders in the faith of Akhenaten, to which there was but one objection—that they were never really there. But, on the other hand, there has been on the part of some scholars an almost indecent eagerness to assume that Atenism had no ethical teaching because no documents of such teaching have survived, which has been as unjust in its own way as the credulity of the enthusiasts has been in another. Judgment on such a point ought to be suspended in view of the fact that the sum of our information comes from two hymns, one of them very brief, and both of them more or less mutilated, and from one or two prayers. Suppose that our knowledge of the religion of Israel rested solely upon a single more or less defective copy of the CIVth Psalm, and on a prayer or two from a devout Hebrew. It can scarcely be denied that we should have as little knowledge of the existence of any ethical content in the Hebrew faith as we have with regard to Atenism; yet how great an injustice should we be doing to the faith of a people who, almost more than any others, passionately believed in the righteousness of their God, if we assumed of them what some appear to take a pleasure in assuming of Atenism. It is the mere accident of survival that has given us our knowledge of the ethical content of the Hebrew faith; and such a fact should chasten any spirit of over-certainty as to the absence of any similar content in Atenism. Should any further documents of the king's creed come to light in the future, we may perhaps be put in a position where a definite judgment can be given; meanwhile we do not know enough to pretend to certainty on either side of the matter.

Yet there is one fact which deserves to be noticed as at least indicative of a tendency, though it is not evidence of a fact otherwise in dispute. It has been pointed out that upon the religious disturbances of the Amarna Age there follows in Egypt a time when the sense of personal relation

between the god and his worshipper is developed in a way hitherto unknown in Egyptian religion, and that this new individualism is often accompanied by a sense of personal responsibility for conduct, and conviction of sin altogether alien in previous ages to the Egyptian mind. "An age of personal piety and inner aspiration to God now dawned among the masses", says Professor Breasted. "It is a notable development . . . the earliest of its kind as yet discernible in the history of the East, or for that matter in the history of man."

For example, we get from a Theban memorial tablet such a passage as this: "Though the servant is disposed to commit sin, yet is the Lord disposed to be merciful. The Lord of Thebes passeth not a whole day wroth. His wrath is finished in a moment, and nought is left." You will look in vain, save at this period, for any utterance like that among the extant records of Egyptian religion. The whole thought, almost the very phraseology, is that of a restored penitent of the Hebrew Psalter. Or again, we have the conception of Amen as the poor man's god and champion, an idea which had but a brief life, but is expressed with both point and vigour in the following utterance: "Amun, lend thine ear to one that standeth alone in the court, that is poor, and his adversary is rich. The Court oppresseth him: 'Silver and gold for the scribes of accounts! Clothes for the attendants!' But it is found that Amun changeth himself into the vizier, in order to cause the poor man to overcome. It is found that the poor man is justified, and that the poor passeth by the rich." Amen, ere long, was to be set further than ever away from the people of the earth, in the frozen gorgeousness of late empire ritual; but for a space we have this humanising influence breathing through the dry bones of the ancient creed. Where did it come from, if not from the gentle teaching of him whom the priests of Amen called a criminal?

Even more suggestive is the following penitential hymn to Ra from the Papyrus Anastasi: "Punish me not for my many sins. I am one that knoweth not himself. I am a witless man. All day long I follow my mouth (my desires?) as an ox after its fodder." The contrast between such an

utterance, which would be perfectly in place again among the penitential psalms of the Hebrew Psalter, and the smug self-righteousness of the ordinary Egyptian tomb-inscription before this time, or the blank denials of sinfulness in the Book of the Dead after it, is one of the most remarkable things in the history of Egyptian religion. And again one has to ask; how is it that such utterances are only found after the catastrophe of Atenism had broken up the fountains of the great deep in Egyptian religious consciousness?

On the whole, then, we may perhaps come to the conclusion that it is at least possible that Atenism was not so entirely devoid of ethical content as has been alleged, if the consequences of its brief presence in Egypt were such as these. The least that can be said is that it stirred the dry bones of Egyptian religion as they had not been stirred before, and were, unfortunately, never to be stirred again.

Familiar as the Amarna Hymns to the Aten have become, it may be advisable to give here a rendering of at least the longer one of them, in order that the reader may be in a position to judge for himself of the quality and content of the Aten faith as revealed in its most important document. The rendering given is that of Professor Erman, translated into English by Dr. Blackman, by whose kind permission it is here quoted.

"Beautiful is thine appearing in the horizon of heaven, thou living sun, the first who lived!

"Thou risest in the eastern horizon, and fillest every land with thy beauty. Thou art beautiful and great, and glistenest, and art high above every land. Thy rays they encompass the lands, so far as all that thou hast created. Thou art Re, and thou reachest unto their end, and subduest them for thy dear son (bindest them all by thy love, Breasted). Thou art afar, yet are thy rays upon earth. Thou art before their face . . . thy going.

"When thou goest down in the western horizon, the earth is in darkness, as if it were dead. They sleep in the chamber, their heads wrapped up, and no eye seeth the other. Though all their things were taken while they were under their heads, yet would they not know it. Every

lion cometh forth from his den, and all worms that bite. Darkness is . . . the earth is silent, for he who created it resteth in his horizon.

“When it is dawn and thou risest in the horizon and shinest as the sun in the day, thou dispellest the darkness and sheddest thy beams. The Two Lands keep festival, awake, and stand on their feet, for thou hast raised them up. They wash their bodies, they take their garments, and their hands praise thine arising. The whole land, it doeth its work.

“All beasts are content with their pasture, the trees and herbs are verdant. The birds fly out of their nests, and their wings praise thy Ka. All the wild beasts dance on their feet, all that fly and flutter—they live when thou arisest for them. The ships voyage down and up stream likewise, and every way is open, because thou arisest. The fishes in the river leap up before thy face. Thy rays are in the sea.

“Thou who createst (male children)? in women, and makest seed in men! Thou who maintainest the son in the womb of his mother, and soothest him so that he weepeth not, thou nurse in the womb. Who giveth breath in order to keep alive all that he hath made. When he cometh forth from the womb unto the earth on the day wherein he is born, thou openest his mouth, and suppliest what it needeth.

“The chick in the egg chirpeth in the shell, for thou givest it breath therein to sustain its life. Thou makest for it its strength in the egg in order to break it. It cometh forth from the egg to chirp . . . it walketh upon its feet when it cometh forth therefrom. How much is there that thou hast made, and that is hidden from me, thou sole god, to whom none is to be likened! Thou hast fashioned the earth according to thy desire, thou alone, with men, cattle, and all wild beasts, all that is upon the earth and goeth upon feet, and all that soareth above and flieth with its wings.

“The lands of Syria and Nubia, and the land of Egypt—thou puttest every man in his place and thou suppliest their needs. Each one hath his provision, and his lifetime is reckoned. Their tongues are diverse in speech, and their

form likewise. Their skins are distinguished, for thou distinguishest the peoples. Thou makest the Nile in the nether world, and bringest it whither thou wilt, in order to sustain mankind, even as thou hast made them. Thou art lord of them all, who wearie himself on their behalf, the lord of every land, who ariseth for them, the sun of the day greatly revered.

"All far-off peoples, thou makest that whereon they live. Thou hast also put the Nile in the sky, that it may come down for them, and may make waves upon the hills like a sea, in order to moisten their fields in their townships. How excellently made are all thy designs, O Lord of Eternity! The Nile in heaven, thou appointest it for the foreign peoples and all the beasts of the wilderness which walk upon feet, and the (real) Nile it cometh forth from the nether world for Timuris.

"Thy rays suckle every field, and when thou risest, they live and thrive for thee. Thou makest the seasons in order to sustain all that thou hast created, the winter to cool them, and the heat, *that they may taste of thee* (?) Thou hast made the sky afar off in order to rise therein, in order to behold all that thou hast made. Thou art alone, but thou arisest in thy forms as living sun, appearing, shining, withdrawing, returning. Thou makest millions of forms of thyself alone. Cities, townships, fields, road and river—all eyes behold thee over against them, as the sun of the day above the earth. . . . Thou art in mine heart, and there is none other that knoweth thee save thy son, Neferkheprure-Sole-One-of-Re, whom thou makest to comprehend thy designs and thy might. The earth came into being at the beckoning of thine hand, for thou hast created them. When thou risest they live, when thou settest they die. Thou art thyself lifetime, and men live in thee. The eyes look on thy beauty until thou settest. All work is laid aside when thou settest on the right. When thou risest (thou), causest . . . to thrive for the king . . . since thou didst found the earth. Thou raisest them up for thy son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who liveth on Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Sole-One-of-Re, Son of Re, who liveth on Truth, Lord of Diadems, Ikhenaton, great

in his duration, and for the great royal consort whom he loveth, Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefernefrure-Nefretiti that liveth and is young for ever and ever."

As a companion piece to this simple and beautiful hymn, we may quote the fine prayer for the King which appears in an Amarna tomb: "Beautiful is thine arising, O Harakhti-that-rejoiceth-in-the-Horizon-in-his-name-Shu-which-is-the-sun, thou living sun, save whom there is none else; who strengtheneth the eyes with his rays, who hath created all that existeth. Thou risest in the horizon of heaven to give life to all that thou hast made, to all men, (all beasts) all that flieth and fluttereth, and to all reptiles that are in the earth. They live when they behold thee; they sleep when thou settest. Thou makest thy son Neferkheprure-Sole-One-of-Re, to live with thee for ever and to do what thine heart desireth and behold what thou doest every day. He rejoiceth when he beholdeth thy beauty.

"Give him life, joy, and gladness, so that all that thou encirclest may lie under his feet while he offereth it to thy Ka, he, thy son, whom thou thyself hast begotten . . . the south as the north, the west and the east, and the isles in the midst of the sea, shout for joy to thy Ka. The southern boundary reacheth as far as the wind bloweth, and the northern as far as the sun shineth. All their princes are overthrown and made weak by reason of his might—the beauteous vital force that maketh festive the Two Lands, and createth what the whole earth needeth. Let him be for ever with thee, in that he loveth to look upon thee.

"Give him very many jubilees with years of peace. Give him of that which thine heart desireth, to the extent that there is sand on the shore, that fishes in the stream have scales, and cattle have hair. Let him sojourn here (Amarna), until the swan turneth black, until the raven turneth white, until the hills arise to depart, until water floweth up stream, while I continue in attendance on the Good God (Akhenaten), until he assigneth me the burial that he granteth."

Seldom can any prayer, to all appearance, have missed its mark and its answer so completely as this gentle and beautiful petition of Ahmes. Of all that he craved for his

master, not one single thing has been granted, so far as material success goes, at all events. Yet we may perhaps realise that the failure of Akhenaten was indeed a nobler thing than many successes, and that there is a fuller immortality than that which Akhenaten's devout disciple craved for his master.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES AND KINGS

NOTHING has emerged within the last few years to bridge the gap which exists between the longer and shorter systems of Egyptian dating. The advocates of the shorter system argue that the enormous addition to the period of existence of organised and civilised rule which is demanded by the addition of a whole Sothic period to the dates which they accept is quite inadmissible, on grounds of style in art, if for no other reason—a position which is a somewhat risky one in view of our extremely limited knowledge as to the length of time required for the development of styles. Sir Flinders Petrie, on the other hand, steadily adheres to his original position of believing that the shorter dating is out by a whole Sothic period, and that its advocates are living in a fool's paradise, and are liable to be summarily ejected from it at any time by the results of new discovery; and he maintains that his recent discoveries in Southern Palestine point to a longer duration of Hyksos rule than he had previously allowed for, and therefore tend to invalidate in a still greater degree the arguments for the short period which is usually allowed by modern scholars.

For the convenience of the reader, therefore, I have given here the dates which have been widely adopted within recent years, and which are assumed as authoritative by the editors of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, and side by side with these I have given the dates adopted by Sir Flinders Petrie, that the full extent of the discrepancy may be visible at a glance. Along with these two systems of dating, I have tabulated a few of the more important synchronisms which, on the short system, exist between the history of Egypt and that of her rival nations in the Near East. It ought to be pointed out, in fairness to the reader, that underneath the Babylonian and Assyrian dates also there lies an assumption—namely, that Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, was a thousand years out in his assertion of the date of Naram-sin. It is, of course, quite possible that this is so; but the fact of his assertion having

been made ought not to be forgotten. Dates of extremely distant events have recently been stated with an extreme approach to minute accuracy in detail which, to put it plainly, seems quite impossible of verification; and when the student is informed that an important event happened, not "about 5200 years ago", but on a particular day of a particular month in a particular year at that remote distance, it seems to me that he is entitled to hesitate, and ask why the particular hour of the day has not also been added to make the thing complete. After 1580 B.C. there is sufficient agreement of authority to warrant us that we may have a fair amount of confidence in the dates offered, within a year or two; before that time all dates should be qualified by "about"; and the qualification will sometimes have to be a fairly large one.

Shorter Dating.	Sir F. Petrie's Dating.	Synchronisms.
Pre-dynastic Kings of Lower and Upper Egypt:		
<i>Lower.</i> <i>Upper.</i>		
Tiu.		5000 B.C.
Thesh.		
Hzekiu.		
Neheb. Ka-ap.	Ka-ap, <i>c.</i> 5650 B.C.	Sumerians in Babylonia.
Uazonz. Ro.	Ro, <i>c.</i> 5600 B.C.	
Emkhet.		IIInd Dynasty of Kish, 3700?
Ist Dynasty, 3500-3350?	Ist Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 5546-5293	
Scorpion.	Narmer, 5576-5484.	
Narmer.	Aha (Mena), 5484-5437.	Early graves at Ur, <i>c.</i> 3500 B.C.
Aha-Mena.	Zer-ta, 5437-5406.	
Zer (?Khent) Atoti.	Zet-ata, 5406-5383.	
Za.	Merneit (Queen).	
Den Semti (Udimu).	Den-setui, 5383-5363.	
Merpeba.	Azab Merpeba, 5363- 5337.	
Semerkheth.	Semerkheth, 5337-5319.	
Ka-sen.	Qa-sen, 5319-5293.	
IIInd Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 3350-3190	IIInd Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 5293-4991	
Hotepsekhemui.	Hetepsekhemui, <i>c.</i> 5293- 5255.	
Raneb Kakau.	Ra-neb Kakau, <i>c.</i> 5255- 5216.	
Neneter.	Neteren, <i>c.</i> 5216-5169.	

Shorter Dating.	Sir F. Petrie's Dating.	Synchronisms.
<p>IInd Dynasty (<i>contd.</i>) Sekhemib. Perabsen. Senedi. Neferkara. Neferkasokar. Kara?</p>	<p>IInd Dynasty (<i>contd.</i>) Perabsen Sekhemab, <i>c.</i> 5169-5152. Send, <i>c.</i> 5152-5111. Kara, <i>c.</i> 5111-5094. Neferkara, <i>c.</i> 5094-5069. Khasekhem, Neferkasokar, <i>c.</i> 5069-5021. Khasekhemui, <i>c.</i> 5021-4991.</p>	
<p>IIIrd Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 3190-3100 Khasekhemui. Sa-nekht. Zeser. Nebkara. Neferkara Huni. Snefru.</p>	<p>IIIrd Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 4991-4777 Sa-nekht, <i>c.</i> 4991-4975. Nebkara, <i>c.</i> 4975-4947. Zeser (Neterkhet), <i>c.</i> 4947-4918. Snefru, <i>c.</i> 4803-4777.</p>	
<p>IVth Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 3100-2965 Shaaru, <i>c.</i> 3100-3098. Khufu, <i>c.</i> 3098-3075. Radedef, <i>c.</i> 3075-3067. Khafra, <i>c.</i> 3067-3011. Menkaura, <i>c.</i> 3011-2988. Shepseskaf, 2988-2970. Imhotep? <i>c.</i> 2970-2965?</p>	<p>IVth Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 4777-4493 Shaaru, <i>c.</i> 4777-4748. Khufu, <i>c.</i> 4748-4685. Khafra, <i>c.</i> 4685-4619. Menkaura, <i>c.</i> 4619-4556. Radedef, <i>c.</i> 4556-4531. Shepseskaf, <i>c.</i> 4531-4509. Imhotep, <i>c.</i> 4502-4493.</p>	<p>IIIrd Dynasty of Kish, <i>c.</i> 2967 B.C. Early Minoan II. Dynasty of Akshak, <i>c.</i> 3000 B.C.</p>
<p>Vth Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 2965-2825 Userkaf, <i>c.</i> 2965-2958. Sahura, <i>c.</i> 2958-2946. Kakau, <i>c.</i> 2946-2936. Shepseskara, <i>c.</i> 2935-2929. Khanefer, <i>c.</i> 2929-2925. Neuser, <i>c.</i> 2925-2891. Menkauhor, <i>c.</i> 2891-2883. Dadkara Assa, <i>c.</i> 2883-2855. Unas, <i>c.</i> 2855-2825.</p>	<p>Vth Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 4493-4275 Userkaf, <i>c.</i> 4493-4465. Sahura, <i>c.</i> 4465-4452. Kakau, <i>c.</i> 4452-4432. Shepseskara, <i>c.</i> 4432-4425. Khanefer, <i>c.</i> 4425-4405. Neuser, <i>c.</i> 4405-4361. Menkauhor, <i>c.</i> 4361-4352. Zedkara Assa, <i>c.</i> 4352-4308. Unas, <i>c.</i> 4308-4275.</p>	

Shorter Dating.	Sir F. Petrie's Dating.	Synchronisms.
<p>VIth Dynasty, c. 2825-2631</p> <p>Teta, c. 2825-2795.</p> <p>Pepy I., Merira, c. 2795-2742.</p> <p>Merenra, c. 2742-2738.</p> <p>Pepy II., c. 2738-2644.</p> <p>Merenra II., c. 2644-2643.</p> <p>Nitokris, c. 2643-2631.</p>	<p>VIth Dynasty, c. 4275-4077</p> <p>Teta, c. 4275-4251.</p> <p>Pepy I., c. 4245-4192.</p> <p>Userkara, c. 4251-4245.</p> <p>Merenra, c. 4192-4185.</p> <p>Merenra II., c. 4090-4089.</p> <p>Pepy II., c. 4185-4090.</p> <p>Nitokris, c. 4089-4077</p>	<p>Reign of Lugal-zaggisi, 2777 B.C.</p> <p>Reign of Sargon of Akkad, 2752.</p> <p>Naram-sin defeats Marnium of Magan, c. 2700 B.C.</p> <p>Early Minoan III. begins.</p>
<p>VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties (<i>nox alta premit</i>).</p>	<p>VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties, 4077-3907 (<i>nox alta premit</i>).</p>	<p>Ur - Bau, Patesi of Lagash.</p>
<p>IXth and Xth Dynasties, 2500-2300</p> <p>Khety I. (Ekhtai).</p> <p>Khety II., Meryabra.</p> <p>Khety III., Uahkara.</p> <p>Khety IV., Merykara.</p>	<p>IXth Dynasty, c. 3907-3807</p> <p>Khety I., c. 3907-3880.</p> <p>Khety II., c. 3880-3855.</p> <p>Khety III., c. 3855-3830.</p> <p>Khety IV., c. 3830-3807.</p>	<p>Gudea, Patesi of Lagash, 2500? 2400?</p> <p>Dungi of Ur, 2391 B.C.</p> <p>End of IIIrd Dynasty of Ur, 2328.</p>
<p>XIth Dynasty, c. 2375-2212</p> <p>Antefaa Uahankh, c. 2375.</p> <p>Antef II., Nakhtnebtetnefer.</p> <p>Mentuhotep Sankhabtau.</p> <p>Mentuhotep II.</p> <p>Mentuhotep III., Nebhapetra, c. 2290-2242.</p> <p>Mentuhotep IV., c. 2242-2212.</p>	<p>XIth Dynasty, c. 3733-3579</p> <p>Antefaa, c. 3733-3715.</p> <p>Antefaa II., Uahankh, c. 3715-3665.</p> <p>Antef III., c. 3665-3660.</p> <p>Mentuhotep I., c. 3660-3645.</p> <p>Mentuhotep II., c. 3645-3640.</p> <p>Mentuhotep III., c. 3640-3592.</p> <p>Mentuhotep IV., c. 3592-3588.</p> <p>Mentuhotep V., c. 3588-3574.</p>	<p>Middle Minoan I. begins.</p>

Shorter Dating.	Sir F. Petrie's Dating.	Synchronisms.
XIIth Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 2212-2000	XIIth Dynasty, <i>c.</i> 3579-3368	
Amenemhat I., <i>c.</i> 2212-2182.	Amenemhat I., <i>c.</i> 3579-3549.	Palace of Knossos begun.
Senusert I. (co-reg.), 2192-2147.	Senusert I. (co-reg.), 3559-3515.	
Amenemhat II. (co-reg.), 2150-2115.	Amenemhat II. (co-reg.), 3517-3482.	First Dynasty of Babylon begins, <i>c.</i> 2169 B.C.
Senusert II., <i>c.</i> 2115-2099.	Senusert II., <i>c.</i> 3484 (co-reg.)-3465.	
Senusert III., <i>c.</i> 2099-2061.	Senusert III., <i>c.</i> 3465-3427.	Hammurabi, <i>c.</i> 2067 B.C. Middle Minoan II. begins.
Amenemhat III., <i>c.</i> 2061-2013.	Amenemhat III., <i>c.</i> 3427-3381.	
Amenemhat IV., <i>c.</i> 2013-2004.	Amenemhat IV., <i>c.</i> 3381-3372.	
Sebekneferura, <i>c.</i> 2004-2000.	Sebekneferura, <i>c.</i> 3372-3368.	
XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties, <i>c.</i> 2000-1800 B.C.	XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties, 3366-2729 (about 70 kings of whom more or less important relics have survived)	
Ugaf Khutauira, <i>c.</i> 2000?	Ugaf, <i>c.</i> 3366-3358.	Middle Minoan III. begins.
Sekhemkara.	Sekhemkara, <i>c.</i> 3358-3352.	
Sankhabtauira.	Yufni, <i>c.</i> 3338-3336.	
Sneferabra, Senusert IV.	Sankhabra, <i>c.</i> 3336-3314.	
Sebekhotep I.	Sebekhotep I., <i>c.</i> 3286-3278.	
Sebekemsaf I.	Sebekemsaf I., <i>c.</i> 3260.	
Sebekemsaf II.	Sebekhotep II., <i>c.</i> 3254-3244.	
Mermeshau.	Mermeshau, <i>c.</i> 3236-3228.	
Menuazra.	Sebekemsaf II., <i>c.</i> 3225.	
Sebekhotep II.	Sebekhotep III., <i>c.</i> 3212-3200.	
Neferhotep, 1900?	Sebekemsaf III., <i>c.</i> 3220.	
Sebekhotep III.	Neferhotep, <i>c.</i> 3209-3194.	
Merneferra Ay.	Sebekhotep IV., <i>c.</i> 3166-3160.	
Sebekhotep IV.	Merneferra Ay, <i>c.</i> 3144-3120.	

Shorter Dating.	Sir F. Petrie's Dating.	Synchronisms.
<p>XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties (<i>contd.</i>)</p> <p>Sebekhotep V. Antef III.</p> <p>Antef IV. Antef V., <i>c.</i> 1750? Khaza.</p>	<p>XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties (<i>contd.</i>)</p> <p>Khaza?</p>	<p>Hittite raid on Babylon, <i>c.</i> 1870. End of First Babylonian Dynasty.</p>
<p>XVth and XVIth Dynasties, <i>c.</i> 1800-1580 (Hyksos Kings)</p> <p>Semken.</p> <p>'Ant-hal. Yekeb-baal. Yekeb-hal . . . Salatis?</p> <p>Maa-ab-ra Pepi? . . . Bnon?</p> <p>Aahpehtira Nubti . . . Apakhnas?</p> <p>Apepa I. . . . Apophis? Khyan . . . Iannas? Apepa II., Oauserra. Oasehra. Apepa, Oaqenenra.</p>	<p>XVth and XVIth Dynasties</p> <p>Semken, <i>c.</i> 2497-2453. Oauserra, Apepa I., 2416-2355. Khyan, 2355, 2305. Oaqenenra, Apepa II. Nebkhepeshra, Apepa III. Maatnebra.</p> <p>Maatabra.</p> <p>Antef V. } Antef VI. } XVIIIth Theban Antef VII. } Dynasty, begins } about 1738 B.C.</p>	<p>Kassites under Gandash conquer Babylon, 1690 B.C.</p>
<p>XVIIth Dynasty, Theban, <i>c.</i> 1635-1580</p> <p>Seqenenra, Ta-aa, 1635- 1615.</p> <p>Seqenenra, Ta-aa-aa, 1615-1605.</p> <p>Seqenenra, Ta-aa-ken, 1605-1591.</p> <p>Kames, 1591-1581. Senekhtenra, 1581-1580.</p>	<p>XVIIth Dynasty, Theban (<i>contd.</i>)</p> <p>Seqenenra, Ta-aa, 1660- 1635.</p> <p>Seqenenra, Ta-aa-aa, 1635-1610.</p> <p>Seqenenra, Ta-aa-ken, 1610-1597.</p> <p>Kames, 1597-1591. Senekhtenra, 1591-1587.</p>	

The two streams of dating, which have been converging for some time, now virtually coalesce, and from this point it is needless to maintain any division between dates which only differ by a year or two.

XVIIIth Dynasty,
c. 1580-1322

Late Minoan I. begins.

Aahmes I., 1580-1558.
Amenhotep I., 1558-1545.
Thothmes I., 1545-1514.
Thothmes II., 1514-1501.
Hatshepsut, 1501-1479.
Thothmes III. (co-reg. 1501-1479),
1479-1447.
Amenhotep II., 1447-1420.
Thothmes IV., 1420-1412.
Amenhotep III., 1412-1376.
Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV.), 1376-
1358.
Semenkhara, 1358-1355.
Tutankhamen, 1355-1346.
Ay, 1346-?

Late Minoan II. begins.

Tushratta of Mitanni, Burraburiash
of Babylon, Shubbiluliuma of
Hatti.
Destruction of Palaces of Knossos
and Phaistos, c. 1400 B.C.

The second stage of the New Empire opens with the accession of Horemheb, 1346?, who gathers up the fragments from the collapse under Akhenaten, and prepares the way for the active Pharaohs of the XIXth Dynasty.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

IN order to avoid encumbering the narrative with constant references to the authorities on whom the various statements of the text are based, or to those whose views are cited either in support of the writer's views or for the purpose of criticising them, a short summary is here added of those books which the reader is likely to find useful in the pursuit of a further study of the history of Ancient Egypt. The list makes no pretence of being exhaustive; but it contains most of the outstanding books with which the student of the subject ought to make himself familiar.

For general histories of the Egyptian nation, the following are of importance:

A History of Egypt, by Sir F. Petrie and collaborators—six volumes, bringing the history down to the Middle Ages. An immense assemblage of facts and records, invaluable to the student. (Methuen.)

A History of Egypt, by Professor J. H. Breasted. An admirable narrative, especially strong in its studies of the literature, art, social conditions and religion of the land. (Hodder and Stoughton; Scribner—one volume.)

The Ancient History of the Near East, Dr. H. R. Hall, gives the history of Egypt woven into that of the other nations of the Near East in a careful and readable account. (Methuen—one volume.)

A History of Egypt, Sir E. A. W. Budge. Eight volumes of very full detail. Unfortunately rather overloaded with unnecessary matter, and heavy in style. (Kegan Paul.)

A History of the Pharaohs, Mr. Arthur Weigall. Two volumes have appeared, bringing the story down to the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Interesting in style at times, but encumbered by a chronology disagreeing with that of all other authorities. (Thornton Butterworth.)

A Short History of Egypt, P. E. Newberry and J. Garstang. For a brief sketch of the main lines of the history, there is nothing better than this little book.

Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique. Sir G. Maspero's three great volumes, rendered into English—*The Dawn of Civilization*, *The Struggle of the Nations*, *The Passing of the Empires*—still offer an unequalled amount of interesting detail on the nations of the Near East, though they need bringing up to date. (S.P.C.K.)

The Cambridge Ancient History. The relative portions of this great work are indispensable. (Cambridge University Press.)

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

The handiest brief description of the land is found in *The Nearer East*, by the late Dr. D. G. Hogarth. (Henry Frowde.) Much of the best and most attractive description is scattered in books of travel, such as Miss Amelia Edwards's *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, which is not likely to be superseded as a pleasant sketch of the land by one who was interested alike in it and its past history.

The Banks of the Nile, by Professor J. A. Todd, gives a great amount of information on past and present; while *Egypt*, by R. Talbot Kelly, deals with the land from the point of view of an artist. (Both A. and C. Black.) These occur among scores of their kind.

EARLIEST EGYPT

Qau and Badari, Prof. Sir F. Petrie, deals with the Badarian culture. (Egypt Research Account.)

The Badarians are also dealt with very happily by Professor Gordon Childe in *The Most Ancient East*. (Kegan Paul.)

The various volumes of the Egypt Exploration Fund and Egypt Research Account dealing with prehistoric sites are indispensable—e.g. *Predynastic Cemetery at El-Mahasna*, by Ayrton and Loat; *El Amrah and Abydos*, by Randall MacIver and Mace; *Diospolis Parva*, Petrie, and the Tarkhan volumes by the same author; *Naqada and Ballas*, Petrie and Quibell—may be mentioned among many others. For the anthropological aspect of the subject, see Professor Elliot Smith's little volume, full of material, *The Ancient Egyptians*. (Harper.)

THE OLD KINGDOM

Abydos and Royal Tombs, both by Petrie, are of first importance. Also his *Researches in Sinai*, his *Medum*, his *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*. For Professor G. A. Reisner's work at Gizeh, see Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletins. Mr. Cecil Firth's excavations at Saqqara on behalf of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities have been reported from time to time in the columns of the *Times*. For the religion of the Old Kingdom, Breasted's *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* is of first-class importance. A handy French edition of the Pyramid Texts, by Louis Speleers, the Belgian Egyptologist, is published (in most extraordinary form) by Vanderpoorten, Ghent. Dr. Blackman's *Rock Tombs of Meir* (Egypt Exploration Fund) is of interest; while Borchardt's *Grabdenkmal* series—Neuserre, Sahure, and Neferirkere—are important for the Vth Dynasty.

THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

Petrie's *Researches in Sinai* continues to be important. *Burial Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, by J. Garstang, deals with the Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan. *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, by De Garis Davies and Alan Gardiner, is very useful for its description of Middle Kingdom funerary rites and customs. The volumes of the two societies, such as Newberry's *Beni Hasan* and *El Bersheh*, and Petrie's *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* and *Lahun* (with Brunton), are storehouses of information. Breasted's *Development of Religion* continues to be of great value.

THE NEW EMPIRE

For the reign of Thothmes III., the chief source is his own Annals, translated by Breasted in *Ancient Records*, and the inscriptions are supremely valuable for the other reigns, Hatshepsut, Amenhotep II., Amenhotep III., etc. For the Amarna Period, the six volumes of the *Rock Tombs of Amarna*, by De Garis Davies, in the Egypt Exploration Fund series, are essential. For the city of Akhetaten, the chief source is *The City of Akhenaten*, by Peet, Woolley and others, in the same series. Weigall's volume, *Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt*, is interesting, if somewhat high-strung. I have attempted a general survey of this aspect of the New Empire in *The Amarna Age*. (Black.) The volumes of the late Mr. T. M. Davis, *Tomb of Iouiya*, *of Queen Tiye*, *of Hatshopsitu*, *of Harmhabi*, and *of Siptah*, give details of his wonderfully successful excavations; while Dr. Howard Carter's two volumes, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen*, recount the most marvellous of recent finds.

ART

Maspero's little volume, *Ancient Egypt*, in the *Ars Una* series (Heinemann), is good and fully illustrated, though the pictures are on a very small scale. Mrs. Quibell's little volume, *Egyptian History and Art*, is also good. Dr. H. R. Hall has contributed various important articles on the relations between Egyptian and Aegean art to the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. Maspero's larger volume, *Egyptian Art* (Fisher Unwin), is not so good as his smaller one. For the Architecture of Ancient Egypt, G. Bell issues a convenient handbook by E. Bell, and nearly all the histories deal with the subject more or less thoroughly. Capart's *Primitive Art in Egypt* is important for the Old Kingdom, and his *Egyptian Art* is a good introduction to the subject. The British Museum Trustees issue a volume, *Egyptian Sculpture in the British Museum*, with admirable reproductions of some of the most notable pieces in the national collection. An interesting attempt to realise the living appearance of the men and women who ruled the destinies of Ancient Egypt has been made by Mrs. Brunton in her volume of paintings of *The Kings and Queens of Ancient Egypt* (Hodder and

Stoughton). Sir F. Petrie's *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* is perhaps the most generally useful of handbooks on the subject; while Mr. A. Lucas has handled the question of the materials used by the ancient workmen of the Nile Valley with expert knowledge in his *Ancient Egyptian Materials*. But the best of all guides to a knowledge of Egyptian art and craftsmanship is to see the things themselves, or, if that is impossible, the best reproductions of them which can be procured.

SOCIAL LIFE

Petrie's *Social Life in Ancient Egypt* may be recommended as the handiest available manual. The subject is treated in most of the histories.

RELIGION

Handbooks are legion. Erman's *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, Wiedemann's *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* and Steindorff's book of the same name, Sayce's *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, and Muller's *Egyptian Mythology* are all reliable in detail, though to gain a clear and connected view of Egyptian religion seems to be an impossibility, for the plain reason that the Egyptians never had such a view themselves. Speleers' edition of the Pyramid Texts has already been mentioned. A more elaborate edition is that of Professor Kurt Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig). Breasted's volume, *Development*, etc., has already been noticed. Budge has published various editions of the later religious book of the Egyptians, *The Book of the Dead*.

The only satisfactory edition of the Amarna Tablets, so often referred to, is that of Knudtzon, and the quotations in the text are rendered from it. It is much to be desired that a good English edition of these most important letters should be forthcoming; but there seems to be no appearance of such a thing. For a general view of the Egyptian state and people in every aspect, there is still nothing to approach Erman's *Ägypten*. The English version, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, is now getting pretty old. A new German edition has appeared.

Mr. R. Engelbach's *Problem of the Obelisks* deals in most interesting and instructive fashion with the question of how the Egyptian engineer handled these vast shafts of granite.

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